DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 414 830 HE 030 814

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TITLE Black Hills State University Research and Scholarly Work Symposium Proceedings (Spearfish, South Dakota, May 2, 1995).

INSTITUTION Black Hills State Univ., Spearfish, SD.

PUB DATE 1997-05-02

NOTE 115p.

PUB TYPE Collected Works - Proceedings (021)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Alcohol Abuse; *American Indians; Behavior Change; College Instruction; College Students; Community Benefits; *Cultural Differences; Economic Development; *Economic Impact; Elementary Secondary Education; Ethical Instruction; Ethnocentrism; Federal Indian Relationship; Federal Legislation; High Risk Students; Higher Education; Interpersonal Relationship; Local History; *Oral History; Psychological Evaluation; Rape; *Sex Stereotypes; Teacher Response; Teacher Student Relationship; Tutoring; Values Education; Writing Instruction

IDENTIFIERS Gambling; Indian Gaming Regulatory Act 1988; *South Dakota

ABSTRACT

This proceedings contains papers from a symposium conducted to promote the professional sharing of scholarly accomplishments of Black Hills State University (South Dakota) faculty and students. The symposium also provided a forum for discussion of current issues related to the presentations. The papers, representing a variety of disciplines, are as follows: "Native American Children in 'White' Schools" (Gloria Satterlee and John Glover); "History: Western Approach vs. Oral Tradition" (Jenny Beslanowitch and John Glover); "Thirty Years of American Indian Activism: From Alcatraz to the Mohawk Wars, 1964-1994" (Amy Dobson and John Glover); "The Indian Gaming Issue: A Perspective on the Future" (Gene M. Meier, and John Glover); "An Examination of the Correlation between Alcohol Use and Rape" (Adrienne B. Clayton); "Women and Mental Health: Issues of Diagnosis and Causation" (Cheryl Anagnopoulos); "Thermodynamic Stability of a Model RNA Hairpin with an Internal Loop" (Peter deLannoy, Joseph Howell, and Stanley Smith); "Writers at Risk: An Experiment with Supplemental Instruction in Freshmen Writing Classrooms" (Roger Ochse); "Methods in Estimating VFR Expenditures" (Norma Polovitz Nickerson); "Gambling in Deadwood, South Dakota: Past, Present, and Future" (Roger Miller); "How to Improve Time-On-Task with Students Who Are At-Risk" (Dean Myers, Perry Passaro, and Gale Zahn); and "Educating for Character and Crook County" (Carol L. Farver). (SW)

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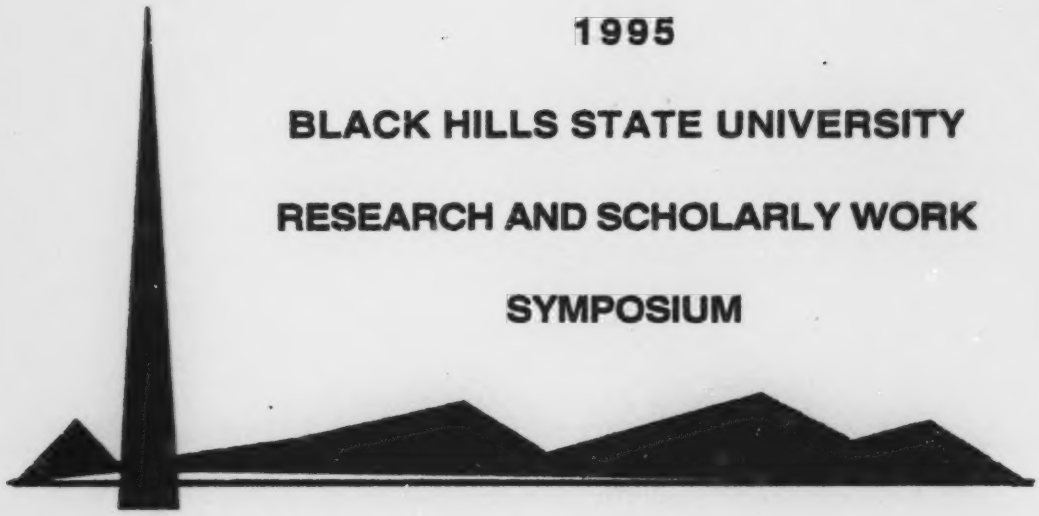

1995

BLACK HILLS STATE UNIVERSITY

RESEARCH AND SCHOLARLY WORK

SYMPOSIUM

Research and Scholarly Work
Symposium Proceedings
Black Hills State University
Spearfish, South Dakota

May 2, 1995 Donald Young Center

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RESEARCH AND SCHOLARLY WORK

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Research and Scholarly Work Symposium Proceedings
Black Hills State University
Spearfish, South Dakota

Edited by:
Cheryl Anagnopoulos
Roger Ochse
Roger Wolff

May 2, 1995 Donald Young Center

PREFACE

The 1995 Black Hills State University Research and Scholarly Work Symposium was conducted on May 2, 1995 to promote the professional sharing of scholarly accomplishments of Black Hills State University faculty and students. The Symposium also provided a forum for discussion of current issues related to the presentations.

As in the 1994 symposium proceedings this document contains a myriad of topics spread through a variety of disciplines. We believe that through the publication of the proceedings of the Black Hills State University Research and Scholarly Work Symposium continued encouragement for professional dialogue of current, relevant research and scholarly work will be enhanced.

We gratefully acknowledge the office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs for its financial support of the Symposium and the publication of this document. The scholarly endeavors of the presenters are duly noted and honored as are the amanuensis efforts of Patti Kittel.

Cheryl Anagnopoulos, College of Applied Science & Technology
Roger Ochse, College of Arts and Humanities
Roger Wolff, College of Education
Black Hills State University
January, 1995

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NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN IN "WHITE" SCHOOLS

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encounters with other residents (Havighurst, 1955, p. 27).

It would appear, however, that mainstream education does fit well with the Anglo-American culture. "[M]any White children, by virtue of their upbringing and their linguistic exposure, are oriented toward using language as a vehicle for learning" (Kleinfeld, 1988, p. 9).

Indian children have often times developed a learning style characterized by observation and imitation. The formal education process favors those who are highly verbal penalizing students who are not trained in such a fashion (Roessel, 1963, p. 86).

Further, lack of familiarity with an Indian culture can lead to serious problems within schools:

> What is acceptable in one tribe may be taboo in another. For example in Plains cultures, eagle feathers are sacred. Yet among the Cheyenne, eagle feathers must not be touched by a female. So what seems logical for a teacher to do, like awarding an eagle feather, or a likeness of one, to a Cheyenne female for an academic accomplishment is violating Cheyenne beliefs (Gilliland, 1988, p. 25).

Indian children may also become confused as it appears that there exists a difference in the concept of learning between home and the classroom. Formal educational setting often creates frustration in an Indian child by heightening these conflicts within the child (Little, 1981, p. 97).

Unfortunately, misunderstandings formed from stereotypes may negatively impact the Indian child's academic experience despite the teacher's best intentions. Many, unfamiliar with Native America, fail to recognize the differences that exist putting all Indians into one category. Others may simply frame their understanding to fit the popular media. Such actions will interfere with the "normal" educational process.

Strategies for Improvement

Does there exist a uniquely American Indian learning style? Recent studies indicate that common patterns exist among Indian students in terms of learning styles, however, no single uniform system has been identified (Havighurst, p. 257). Further,

> . . . [T]here is considerable overlap between Indian and Non-Indian learning style patterns, especially where there are similarities in life style. Cultural differences are only one component of learning styles; there may be a number of other equally important components which contribute to the development of a particular learning style of an individual. Ibid.

Despite the lack of uniformity in terms of learning styles, meaningful improvement in the education of Indians can be achieved. There are several strategies which can improve the process of learning for Indian children. Critical to the success of these techniques is a willingness on the part of educator to recognize that differences in the students cultural background may impact the way those individuals learn. Also

Learning begins from the moment an individual is born. All human cultures have methods of conveying needed information. The traditions, values, knowledge, skills, and patterns of behavior are transmitted from one generation to another by language and example.

The culture from which the individual Indian child comes from possesses methods of transferring information. However, these methods often differ dramatically from the techniques employed in mainstream American society. An Indian student's ability to operate in the "other world" depends, in part, on how well his culture can function within the American society that surrounds him or her. Indian students must not only cope with the problems associated with the differences, but also where mainstream society has attempted to suppress Native American culture.

There are classrooms in which Native American youth are happy and successful. There are many more classrooms in which Natives are at the bottom of the line academically, socially, and emotionally where neither teacher nor student expects anything more than failure.

In the past, Indians were oftentimes forcibly removed from ancestral lands and confined to reservations. Treaties and the trust obligation created by the Federal government often required that schooling become a part of the American Indian's experience. From its inception, however, education was designed to assimilate Indians into the larger American society. That which was native was to be purposely forgotten in exchange for a more uniform American citizenry. This agenda was advanced until most recently.

Indian education in America took a dramatic change in direction as early as the 1940's in some communities. No longer was Native American culture to be denied and persecuted by American schools. Some contemporary educational programs have gone so far as to recognize cultural learning differences in an effort to better serve the needs of Indian students.

This paper discusses some of the problems experienced by Indian students in mainstream American schools and suggests techniques designed to improve performance.

Problems with Education and the Indian Student

Many Indian peoples have maintained their cultures despite the former educational agenda of eradication. Their lifestyles include active use of language, values, lifestyles, methods of cooperation, and competition, which reflect a uniquely native approach to education. On the whole, mainstream education has not effectively recognized these cultural differences in its effort to educate Indian students:

> Teachers and schools are not geared to Indian ways. Although most teachers and school principals are well-disposed toward Indian students and parents, they often make mistakes in their teaching due to ignorance of the local Indian culture. Limited contact between schools and Indian communities and the prejudice and negative stereotypes among some school personnel require attention . . . . Indians with their strong emphasis on close personal interrelationships and strong traditional family and tribal values do not prepare them for the depersonalized and sometimes hostile

important is that the educator not consider differences as limiting the students opportunity for academic success.

At the outset, it is important to recognize that American education most often fails to account for the existence, experience, and contribution of Indian peoples. Meaningful improvement should involve greater incorporation of Indian history and culture within the curriculum (Martin, 1974, p. 32).

It has been noted that traditional Indian education might be best described as a "watch-then-do" or "listen-then-do" process (More, 1990, p. 157). This is different from the trial and error type learning often employed in schools. Here students are expected to perform before the entire activity has been demonstrated. Ibid. Indian children familiar with more traditional forms of education could benefit from holistic techniques. Holistic learners do not respond well to continued teacher intervention. The "[h]olistic learner depends on a continuous flow of experience that has its beginning in direct experience" (Rhodes, 1988; p. 23).

Mainstream culture emphasizes high verbal activity, competitive, individual performance which often occurs in tasks limited by time. Much of mainstream education approaches new topics in an analytical and sequential fashion with little discussion of the overall or global picture (Brendtro, et. al., 1990, p. 27). Traditional Indian education often includes group involvement in a non-structured and non-time oriented activity (Hayes & Ames, 1976, p. 16). Developing projects designed to permit a more holistic approach would appear to be useful in teaching Indian children with a traditional background.

Indian students appear to approach their role in the educational process in a manner much different from their Anglo counterparts:

> Indians tend to ridicule the person who performs clumsily; an individual should watch until he has understood. In European and American cultures, generally, the opposite attitude is the case; we 'give a man credit for trying' and we feel that the way to learn is to attempt to do so. If at first you don't succeed, try, try again (Manfredi & Petitt, 1994, p. 72).

It would also appear that traditionally raised Indian children avoid being singled out or drawing attention to themselves in the classroom setting. A student who responds incorrectly to an answer is unlikely to be corrected by the Indian student. This is unlike of his Anglo counterpart who want to "shine" for knowing the correct answer (Swisher & Dayle, 1989, p. 10).

To better meet the needs of Indian students, authors Gilliland and Kendall (1988) offer the following suggestions in their book entitled Teaching The Native American:

1. Become familiar with and accepting of Native American cultural ways.
2. Value the student's background and experience.
3. Identify and emphasize positive Indian values.
4. Help each student to develop their own self-concept in light of the cultures around them.
5. Promote relaxed communication.
6. Develop cultural relevant curriculum which incorporates the Native experience and contribution.

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7. Adapt to each students individual learning style.
8. Work with parents and the local community (Gilliland & Kendall, 1988, p. 11).

These recommendations recognize that differences in cultural background are likely to influence the educational process. It should also be noted that some of the suggestions would not only benefit the Indian student's experience but any student who comes from a culture different from mainstream society.

Conclusion

Understanding the culture of an Indian student is a crucial in order to provide an environment in which meaningful learning can take place. "Anyone attempting to teach children of another culture should be fully aware as possible of the language, customs, traditions, and taboos of that culture, so that he or she can avoid classroom and community misunderstanding and become an effective teacher" (Deloria, 1991, p. 22). Incorporating Indian history, recognizing the differing learning styles that exist, possessing an understanding of the applicable Indian cultures, and challenging existing stereotypes will lead to an improved educational experience for the American Indian students in this country.

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HISTORY: WESTERN APPROACH vs. ORAL TRADITION

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"A people without a history is like wind on the buffalo grass."
--Lakota proverb

History is a constant in every human culture. The methods of retaining such information, however, is not. Sometimes it is recorded in written or symbolic form in chronicles or narrative verse, sometimes it is recorded by symbolic icons or mnemonic devises, and amongst other groups it is recorded and maintained in the memories of specialists skilled in oral traditions. Histories commonly record significant events and individuals, serve to explain origins and associations, and reflect the values of a culture. They are used as tools to try to understand causation, motives, and how they relate to present situations.

The indigenous nations of North Americans known as American Indians, by and large, kept records of their tribal histories in the memories of the tribal historians. These oral traditions, were most commonly passed on in the form of storytelling from generation to generation. The stories were repeated over and over, testing and training the recipients memory so that an accurate history would survive. These histories were, until most recently, greatly unknown and largely ignored by non-Indians. For the most part, the historical significance of Indian presence in American history is disregarded or refashioned to fit a western, often ethnocentric, point of view.

The focus of this paper will be American Indian Oral Traditions and how they form legitimate histories. To achieve this, we must first examine contemporary notions of "history." The American Heritage Dictionary defines history as a narrative of events, story; a chronological record of events, as of the life or development of a people or institution, often including an explanation of or commentary of those events; and the branch of knowledge that records and analyzes past events. Oral traditions can be similarly defined. Early Jesuit perceptions of oral traditions and how those perceptions influenced American thought will be discussed. Further, we will examine "western history" and how western history has been used in American history. Finally, examples of the reliability of Oral Traditions will be given thus permitting the conclusion that such "histories" should be incorporated into American history.

Early European Exposure to Oral Traditions

Some of the earliest recorded accounts of oral traditions came from the Jesuits who lived among the Ottawa's and other Athapaskan tribes in the northeast in the early 1600's. The Jesuits recorded descriptions of the contexts and styles in which oral traditions were preformed, including texts of songs and stories which contained Native belief systems, particularly orations. They wrote highly of the natives speechmaking abilities, recording speeches in detail. Consistent with their Christian world view, however, the creation-type stories, considered pagan myths, were looked upon negatively. Thus, these stories were not recorded as frequently, despite the frequency of their presentation. As one would expect, Jesuits created an image of Indians as barbarian and savage, a persona that would influence early European attitudes and will likely continue to permeate into the 21st century (Clements, 1994).

The Jesuit missionaries recorded ethnological descriptions of the Natives they encountered in their annual reports called the *Relations*. The documents record the

Montagnais culture, their efforts to comprehend Christianity, oral literatures and presentation techniques. The choice of what they recorded depended on whether they were dealing with myth, song, or oration. Although orations were recorded in a very positive way for their eloquence and the ability of the speechmakers, Myths were not recorded verbatim, and generally overlooked:

> It is wearisome to recount the tales which they invent concerning the creation of the world. Soothsayers and worthless quacks fill with these the idle and greedy ears of the people in order that they may acquire an impious gain (Clements, 1994).

While the recording of the actual myths may leave much to be desired, there is some very valuable material on storytelling in the reports. In the *Relation* for 1645-46, Paul Ragueneau wrote a description of this cultural tradition among the Hurons:

> The elders of the country were assembled this winter for the election of a very celebrated Captain. They are accustomed, on such occasions, to relate stories which they have learned regarding their ancestors, even those most remote,--so that the young people, who are present and hear them, may preserve the memory thereof, and relate them in their turn, when they shall have become old. They do this in order thus to transmit to posterity the history and the annals of the country,--striving, by this means, to supply the lack of . . . books, which they have not. They offer, to the person from whom they desire to hear something, a little bundle of straws a foot long, which serve them as counters for calculating, the numbers, and for aiding the memory of those present,--distributing in various lots these same straws, according to the diversity of the things which they relate (Clements, 1994).

To contemporary historians and anthropologists, the real value of these early missionary reports is the documenting of the subject matter, role and authenticity of the oral traditions. Unfortunately, such recognition is only beginning to take place.

American History

The first American histories by and large, were merely an extension of European history. For instance, William Bradford wrote the History of Plymouth Plantation around 1656. It was written to show the impact of God's will in the northeast, as well as recount the pilgrims settlement. Another historian in seventeenth century America was John Winthrop. Winthrop was a Puritan and Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. His History of New England is basically a chronicle.

By the nineteenth century, American histories such as George Bancroft's History of the United States from the Discovery of America written in 1880, was intended chronicle the homeric epic of the great struggle of the American people. He was convinced that America's destiny was to dominate the western hemisphere which would include the conquering of the "savages." Andrew Jackson was one of his enlightened

heros. Bancroft's work was extremely popular and went through dozens of editions, remaining in print for 75 years.

J. P. Dunn Jr. was another historian in the late 1800's, who typified the Euro-American mindset of the time. Dunn believed that Indians were uncivilized, and felt an urgency to have them blend into the Euroamerican lifestyle. In the late 1800's, the Indian was considered a problem; an impediment to western expansion. Dunn's Massacres of the Mountains is an interesting example of how history was used to advance the political agenda of assimilation:

> The worst result of a forced removal is its hinderance to civilization. If the Indian is to be civilized, he must first be brought into a complacent state of mind. You may force a man to do right, but you cannot force him to think right. You cannot compel him to be contented . . . [Solving] the Indian problem . . . will require years of patient effort to bring these people to a self-reliant, honorable, civilized manhood. . . . The missionary and teacher are working nobly. . . . Religion is within reach of most tribes. The schools at Carlile, Hampton, Forest Grove, Chilocco, Genoa and Alburquerque are doing much towards the education of the rising generation . . . by the close of the century the Indian will almost be lost in America (Dunn, 1886).

This popular attitude of historians and policy makers to assimilate Indians into the culture of the Euroamericans, by use of removal and forced boarding schools, had a severe impact of the Native people. Consider this reaction of Rose Mary (Shingobe) Barstow, and Ojibwa:

> I went back to school in the fall. . . . We read a history book about "the savages." The pictures were in color. There was one of a group of warriors attacking white people--a woman held a baby in her arms. I saw hatchets, blood dripping, feathers flying. I showed the picture to the Sister. She said "Rose Mary, don't you know you're Indian?" I said, "No, I'm not." She said, "Yes, you are." I said "No!" And I ran behind a clump of juniper trees and cried and cried (Ballantine, 1993).

These policies, and this use of history to demoralize Indian people, caused many of the oral traditions to be lost, and even the extinction of some entire cultures. To the American historian though, as the Indian was being successfully pushed into the background, he was also becoming increasingly left out of the history books.

Native Americans have not been given their rightful place in American history by well known American historians past and present, largely because the written American histories have been shaped by British culture and tradition. Bernard Bailyn is Pulitzer Prize winning author who admits that his work "does not involve in any significant extent, the movement of the two non-Caucasian peoples," (Hoxie, 1988) because Caucasians don't know enough non-Caucasian history to include it in the narrative. He writes:

> Despite the mass of writing, much of it polemical, that is available on both

> these groups [Indians and blacks] we know as yet relatively little about their histories: we have nothing like the density of information about them that is available for other groups. . . . A narrative history of the coastal North American Indian is almost impossible to assemble.

Somehow, American historians have evolved from the writing of Indians as barbarians and savages to being reduced to barely a footnote because they are not willing to do the necessary research to present an accurate unbiased American history. Historians like Dunn and Bailyn have obviously not considered the primary source, the native Americans and their wealth of oral traditions, as valid. They have preferred to let the subject of Indians remain in the genre of anthropology, as though they were a thing of the past.

Oral Traditions

Oral traditions contain the history of the first Americans. They were an extremely important aspect of native American life. Besides keeping a chronicle of events that occurred during the lifetime of remembered generations, they gave an explanation for the existence of the universe and humanity's place in it. Oral traditions taught respect, generosity, morals, and values. Indian people are exposed to these traditions from the time they are born. Cultures that depend on oral transmission of ideas demand greater interpersonal relationships than those that depend on written transmission of ideas. Involvement and experience lends itself more readily to memory. Paula Underwood was trained by her father in the oral history of her people. She recorded the history in the book The Walking People: A Native American Oral History. The history is written in the traditional way, as a chant almost, with a poetic rhythm. She also goes into detail about the training she received from her father.

From her earliest days he tested and trained her memory by acts as simple as turning her away from where she had been looking, and asking her what she had seen. These activities were not a game, nor was there any pressure to succeed. It was a learning opportunity, to understand life better (Underwood, 1993). In the early stages of her training, Paula began hearing "snippets" and "sections" from her father of the oral histories. She had to show the ability to listen with absolute attention, like "staying awake concentrating on one thing for a day and a night," (Underwood, 1993) before she could learn the whole story. As she began to hear the whole story, one part at a time, her father continually tested her for understanding. When she thought she understood a section she was encouraged to "give it back," but never in the same way it was given. Later, when she thought she understood a section and asked to "give it back," her father would have her give it back three times, in three different ways, none of which where to be how it was given. In this method she was taught that hearing something and understanding it are two different steps.

Billy Two River, a Mohawk spokesman was also raised in an oral tradition. He says that "when you are handed down an oral tradition, it is coming from your family, parents and grandparents. There is a feeling of legitimacy and truth in what is being passed down to you" (Barreiro, 1992).

Charlotte Heth, a Cherokee ethnomusicologist, has studied Indian songs, some of

which have been recorded as early as 1883. She relates:

> You will find that the songs fundamentally don't change--you may find one maybe a little bit faster or a couple of words dropped out-- . . . but basically they do not change. Singers have incredible memories. If you go back and compare their songs to the early recordings, they are near to exactly like they were. I think those of you that grew up in the oral tradition know that the things that you remember in your own head stick with you longer that the things you read on paper" (Barreiro, 1992).

And, Elwood Green, a Mohawk artist speaking on the need to understand why oral tradition is a formalized way of passing on cultural knowledge says:

> It should not be confused with gossip, at least not the way our traditional people utilize this. The analogy about someone telling a story, then the story being told again and again so that by the time it gets to a dozen people it is totally changed--that really cannot happen among traditional use of oral memory. The reason for this is that there is a built-in framework in the culture, it is not told as loose gossip. . . . Historians put together as much as they can of a story and then try and fill in what is probable. The Indian oral tradition, on the other hand, is very exacting. . . . In our language, there is only one way to say something. You can't give an ambiguous statement (Barreiro, 1992).

These and other Indian historians make it very clear that oral traditions are serious business, not to be taken lightly. One could say that more care is taken in passing on oral traditions, because the originality and imagination of the storyteller is controlled by the consensus of the tribal group. People who know the story keep the teller from getting too imaginative, even though there is no definitive rendition in oral traditions. The storyteller has a certain amount of freedom as Paula Underwood explained in the process of giving back the story, however, the basic core of the story must remain the same.

All tribes did not rely solely on memory. Cultures throughout American used various mnemonic devises as keys to call to memory an incident. Some of these include Winter Counts and Wampum Belts. Lakota tribal historian Ben Kindle kept the Winter Count of his people. This oral calendar of events, that was recorded on paper in 1926, marked the winters of his band of the Oglala Lakota from 1759 to 1925, 166 years. The Winter Count had been given to Ben Kindle orally by his grandfather, Afraid-of-Soldier (Turner, 1977). It is an incredible chronology. Unfortunately my source only supplies the key words (though they are also given in Lakota), the skeleton of the events that the historian used to recall the whole incident.

Iroquois Indians used Wampum belts as mnemonic devices that were important in recording agreements. Contemporary Iroquois believe that the relationship between the Americans was defined in an early seventeenth century treaty with the Dutch. This relationship was formalized with the Two Row Wampum belt (Ballantine & Ballantine, 1993; Barreiro, 1992; Costo, 1974). It establishes a relationship that binds friendship, "so that we may walk upon this earth in peace, trust, love and friendship" (Barreiro, 1992). It also establishes a political relationship using boats as a symbolic analogy:

> I have a canoe and you have a vessel with sails and this is what we shall do. I will put in my canoe my belief and laws. In your vessel you shall put your belief and laws. All my people will be in my canoe, your people in your vessel. We shall put these boats in the water and they shall always be parallel, as long as their is mother earth, this will be everlasting (Barreiro, 1992).

Another form of oral tradition that has received little attention by non-Indian historians are prophecy narratives. Julie Cruikshank has been involved with an ongoing study of prophecy narratives that are told by aboriginal women from the Yukon territory. These narratives are still told and understood in the 1990's as common sense explanations. The narratives share a common scaffolding of being conceived of as fully developed narrative constructions of the past, rather than the scaffolding of a contemporary historian that the accounts could be viewed as archival documents (Cruikshank, 1994). Joe Jack, a young south Tutchone man, spoke publicly at a public hearing in 1975 on the proposed pipeline across Yukon Territory. He told about a Pelly River shaman who had foreseen the coming of tremendous changes:

> He said that he saw many white people coming to this land and that they will build trails to travel on. He said they will blockoff waterways and they will tear up the land to take out rocks . . . lastly he said they will build an iron road that will not be driven on. And, he said, when this happens . . . it will be the end of the Indian people (Cruikshank, 1994).

Joe Jack's telling this prophecy at a public hearing "underscored vision embodied in prediction" (Cruikshank, 1994). A visions meaning is understood to be ambiguous until after the event occurs. Cruikshank remarks that the "fact that he chose to make that part of his formal testimony suggests that he considers it an example which legitimizes local knowledge in the face of scientific and bureaucratic discourse dominating these hearings" (Cruikshank, 1994).

Oral traditions taught a respect for all of nature, human and non-human. Appropriateness and balance are two major themes that occur. Rather than understanding action as either right or wrong, as the historian Dunn was quick to point out in his narrative and is a common theme throughout Christian cultures, appropriate action and appropriate time are apparent in Oral Traditions. Paula Underwood explains, "that thing, that behavior, that choice, is appropriate which tends to lead toward health and well being" (Underwood, 1993). Balance goes along with appropriateness, "That neither one way nor the other, but a balance between . . . balance is always requisite to continuance, at least in the long run" (Underwood, 1993).

Conclusion

American has never been one nation, and probably never will be. For the past 500 years Indians have influenced non-Indians and non-Indians have influenced Indians. Both have had significant impact on the other culture and they should be included in our American history. Leaving the Indian's history out of American history is inaccurate,

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and misleading. Clifford E. Trafzer makes a good point when he says:

> As part of the legacy of the Columbian invasion of America, Europeans have debased native beliefs in the sanctity of the natural world and have down played the significance of cultural forces within Native American communities as important factors influencing the course of history. The result has been historical writings based on uncritical evaluations of biased documents by scholars who have little understanding of Native American cultures (Trafzer, 1993).

As scholars are increasing their understanding of Native American cultures, Native Americans are realizing that their history is important and needs to be known. The renaissance of Native American Indian oral traditions will assure that the future pages of American history will be written not from a purely Eurocentric viewpoint, but will also incorporate the oral traditions.

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THIRTY YEARS OF AMERICAN INDIAN ACTIVISM: FROM ALCATRAZ TO THE MOHAWK WARS, 1964-1994

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> As life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time, at peril of being judged not to have lived.
>
> --Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes

Between the mid-1950's and the early 1970's, the FBI and the CIA operated a counter-intelligence program for the purpose of undermining what they called the "radical elements" of American society. Secret government documents uncovered in the mid-1970's reveal a variety of tactics used to destroy the effectiveness of militant groups, including blacks, Communists, and Indians. Respecting no one's privacy or constitutional rights, the government wiretapped people and created provocative, anonymous letters containing threats and lies. It used break-ins, the IRS, informants, and other devises to cause dissension among rival political groups and to discredit and harass movement leaders and supporters (Kuntsler, 1994).

Government officials were given absolute latitude in their actions, with directions to use any means necessary to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize the groups, activities, and individual names of nationalist hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership and supports" (Fortunate Eagle, 1992).

Americans targeted for such "subvert and destroy" missions by the FBI and the CIA included groups and individuals demanding fundamental changes in the country's attitudes, a return of land, or the unity of minority people. People thus victimized included Martin King, Stokeley Carmichael, Elijah Mohammed, Linus Pauling, and John Steinbeck. The FBI also focused considerable resources on the American Indian Movement (AIM), which was "one of the most violent and extremist-oriented organizations yet encountered in the United States." A link was hypothesized (and that was all it took to justify such activity) between AIM and "radical terrorist and extremist groups, both foreign and domestic" (Kuntsler, 1994).

This illegal government program (which went by the acronym COINTELPRO) was based on the government's fears and perceptions of possible threats to the American status quo. Usually, the fears and threats turned out to be completely unjustified. The administrations of Kennedy and Johnson, and especially the administration of Richard Nixon, were heavily involved in this program (Kunstler, 1994).

The following account traces American Indian activism from a time 30 years ago when COINTELPRO was still a carefully-guarded government secret, a time when people were still bright with hope, faith, and a recognition of the good in mankind. It ends with the present-day "wars" on the Mohawk lands in New York state, a bloody and frightening display of anger, hatred, and fear which was originally directed at the American government but has now turned inward upon the Mohawk people themselves. It is not a pretty story. Hope and faith are hard to find anymore. A determination among people to work for the good of mankind has been replaced by an angry, self-serving energy for destruction. The course of American Indian activism provides us with as a microcosm of what has happened all across America. It is vital, especially now, that we learn from it.

One does not have to look far to notice a single common thread running through these incidents of Indian activism. All four major events examined were primarily about sovereignty, a demand for the recognition and enforcement of treaty rights. The Indians

wanted only one thing really; government accountability. They wanted the United States government to live up to its obligations to Indians, to keep its word.

Indian activism has become progressively more militant and more violent, but the original message has not changed. For hundreds of years, and to this very day, treaty rights have remained the crux of all Indian activists' demands. The Indians want what is rightfully theirs. Activist efforts across America have also become more militant and more violent. It is the pervasive and consistent denial of certain human, civil, and sovereign rights by the federal government, coupled with perceptions of too much undue government influence in the lives of Americans, which has given birth to the massive hatred and violence that can be seen throughout our nation today.

Three distinct phases of American Indian activism have made themselves evident thus far. Phase I was dominated by the capture and occupation of Alcatraz Island. Phase II was distinguished by the activities of the American Indian Movement (AIM), specifically the Trail of Broken Treaties and Wounded Knee. Phase III festered and eventually erupted violently in the form of the Mohawk wars of 1989-90. The fourth phase--perhaps the final phase--has yet to emerge.

Phase I: Alcatraz Island (1964-1970)

All efforts undertaken by modern Indian activists have grown from a foothold established by the first incident of large-scale, organized Indian activism; the occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969. The seeds of the occupation had actually been sown five years earlier in 1964 when a handful of urban Sioux landed and laid claim to the abandoned prison under an old treaty permitting non-reservation Indians to claim lands no longer being used by the government. This Sioux "takeover" lasted only four hours, but the action was most amiable on all sides and the media coverage it received was extensive, even sympathetic. The Indians' goal was "to test the validity of the 1868 treaty and remind people of the nearly 600 treaties which had been broken and other injustices which were still being committed against native (sic) Americans by the federal government." Attention was also drawn to the government's offer to pay California Indians a ridiculous 47 cents per acre in compensation for tribal lands stolen from them since the Gold Rush (Fortunate Eagle, 1992; Indians Of All Tribes, 1972).

The event was a carefully planned media success. The Indians were good humored, dignified, and cordial throughout. Just compensation was "generously offered" in payment for the island; the same 47 cents per acre the federal government had just offered California Indians for their land. The Indians further made a "magnanimous gesture." The government could keep the Coast Guard lighthouse on the island as long as it did not interfere with Indian settlement. When it became clear that the rather threatened government officials were about to become nasty, the Indians agreed to leave the island since they had already made their point (Fortunate Eagle, 1992).

The 1964 action was never meant to be an occupation, but important things were said and reporters listened. The event was effective, and it also set minds to wondering about Alcatraz Island. Could "the Rock" someday become a resource for Indian people?

By 1969, when another group of San Francisco Indians landed on Alcatraz and staked their claim in the name of Indians Of All Tribes (by right of Discovery), they were perfectly aware of the drama and the importance of their act. Hearts were light and

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faith ran strong in the Indians claiming Alcatraz for their people. The occupation was not a battle, after all, there was no fight. This was a carefully crafted statement of non-violent consciousness, an assertion of Indian rights and a demand for recognition. It was done with unmistakably serious intent, a strong reliance on humor, and a hope so strong it affirmed all that was right with humanity. Expectations of the good in mankind paid off in a positive world-wide awakening to Indian ways and to the modern plight of the American Indian. A lack of faith in the goodness of government representatives also paid dividends with the Indian's defensiveness protecting the movement, to some degree, from deception by government forces.

The Indians wanted three things. First, they wanted a new Indian cultural center to replace the San Francisco Indian Center which had burned down. They got one, although not on the island as they had hoped. Second, they wanted to draw attention to treaty violations by the United States government, and especially to point out the atrocious 47 cents per acre the federal government was currently offering the California Indians for their land. They succeeded in alerting America to these and other offenses. Third, they hoped to gain title to Alcatraz Island and build a large cultural center there which would serve as a resource and a beacon of hope for all American Indian people. In this, the occupation failed.

The message of the Alcatraz takeover was unity, that by working together Indians of all tribes could build the cultural and political life they craved. The greatest strength of the Alcatraz occupation was the public support it received. The entire occupation of Alcatraz Island was conducted with a sense of theater. Its entertainment value purchased the cooperation of the media and the involvement of the American public. Media coverage was generous, supportive, and sympathetic to the Indian cause, especially at first. The public responded with generous donations allowing the Indians to set up a clinic, a school, a newspaper, and a radio station on the island. Later, when the Indian's relationship with the media soured, the public support diminished proportionately, demonstrating once and for all the direct link the media had created between the Indians and the American people.

The occupation of Alcatraz Island lasted for 19 months. Its unraveling came about due to divisiveness within the ranks of Indians Of All Tribes. Some of the trouble was due to the times: student activity in the late sixties and early seventies was nothing if not radical, unpredictable, and spontaneous. The youth of America was fighting for all life, and especially for the lives of their brothers in Vietnam and those of the Vietnamese people. These were desperate times and San Francisco represented the very hub of the unrest. Indian people too were fighting for survival, and perhaps it was natural that the Indian university students in the Bay area should have become more and more militant, more and more discontented as the occupations of both Vietnam and Alcatraz dragged on with no resolution in sight.

With zero cooperation and no signs of interest from the government they had hoped to involve in their struggle, an ever-widening generation gap appeared in the Indian community. Whereas the movement to occupy Alcatraz was so carefully engineered by middle-aged, responsible, working Indians in the San Francisco Bay community, it was quickly overtaken by the student factor, and communications between the two groups broke down. It was here that the occupation lost its initial stability.

Then there were "the three B's: booze, boredom, and bickering" on the island itself (Fortunate Eagle, 1992). The booze and drugs created infighting and confusion.

Fifty-one percent of those questioned said they supported the ongoing takeover even though weapons were in use. Twenty-one percent supported the government and the remaining 28 percent were undecided. This time, the people were definitely not cheering for the cavalry.

The government set and reset deadlines for the Indians' surrender, threatening to come in shooting if the deadlines were not met. Food and medical supplies for the Indians were denied and anyone caught bringing supplies into the Indian stronghold was captured, arrested, and charged. The charge was most often "interference with federal officers in the lawful performance of their duty," a felony. Of course, the government instigated and encouraged fighting among the Indians of Pine Ridge as well, a feat which was not difficult since considerable factionalism existed there already.

America's attention was soon diverted from Wounded Knee by Richard Nixon and the Watergate affair, which preceded the end of the occupation. A peace, although imperfect, was finally negotiated with the United States government forces by a group of traditional Sioux Indian chiefs after two Indian deaths and many injuries on both sides had occurred. AIM and the Wounded Knee occupiers agreed to lay down their arms, and their efforts ended with no resolution of the point that inspired the takeover in the first place--the Oglala peoples' fear of Dick Wilson and his "goon squad" on Pine Ridge.

Unlike Alcatraz and the Trail of Broken Treaties (both of which had the intention, at least, of a peaceful confrontation) there can be no doubt that Wounded Knee was a battle in every sense of the word. But it was a battle with a conscience. Then AIM members and the Oglala Sioux people took over the village of Wounded Knee, they had the support and the involvement of traditional chiefs and at least three community organizations, each claiming large memberships among the Oglala people on the Pine Ridge reservation. In their takeover of Wounded Knee, these people hoped only to be heard, to be recognized and responded to. It was an act born of desperation.

Again, government representatives let this opportunity slip by when they really should have stopped to listen and bothered to respond. Unfortunately, President Richard Nixon was, at that time, neck-deep in his own problems with Watergate and the sudden unveiling of his administration's dirty deeds and illegal schemes against the American people. Nixon was in no position to expend his energy in negotiating the demands of a bunch of Indians in South Dakota, even had he been so inclined.

As a matter of fact, it is unfortunate that the whole country was distracted at this time. Once people had been diverted from their outrage over military actions being taken against the Indians, and once they had lost so much hope because of Nixon and his Watergate affair, the public just wanted a rest. It was very tiring to be an American during this time of upheaval. Americans came to see the Wounded Knee takeover as simply one more pitiful cry for help in a country that had been faced with too much hopelessness lately. People lost interest, and with the public's lost interest went the strength of the Indian's cause. The government moved in and the occupation was brought to an end. But the tragic elements involved in the occupation--the near starvation, the death and the mourning, the bullets piercing human flesh--did serve to enhance the Indian's message: This is our land; these are our people. We are here and we will fight to be free. The message was heard around the world and it was remembered. Wounded Knee do not fail.

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Phase III: The Mohawk Wars (1989-1990)

Wounded Knee introduced a more militant attitude into the format of Indian activism, and it reintroduced the wide-spread use of weapons in the fight against government oppressors of Indian people and Indian nations. As Mohawk traditional chief Ron LaFrance noted in 1990, "Indians have learned over the last decade that if they pick up guns and shoot some people, their message is going to be heard" (Warrior, 1990). While the guns and violence served a necessary purpose at Wounded Knee, (defense of the Indian stronghold against heavily-armed government attackers) this attitude of violent confrontation would take a horrible toll in the Mohawk wars more than 15 years later. By 1989 at least one group of Indian activists had become so enmeshed in the right to defend, with military might, their lands and their sovereignty that there is now little hope of regaining the ground lost in 1973 to this armed form of Indian activism.

The so-called "Mohawk wars" actually represent one continuous battle between factions of Mohawk people on the Saint Regis reservation in New York during 1989 and 1990. This was an ugly inter-tribal "civil war" over reservation gambling and the Mohawk peoples' right to sovereignty. It included the use of an illegal arsenal of weapons which easily out-gunned the New York state police (Horning, 1991; Johansen, 1993).

One segment of the population at Akwesasne (one of three Mohawk reservations whose lands lie partly in the United States and partly in Canada) advocates respect for traditional Iroquois law which prohibits commercial gambling. This faction issued repeated request to New York state, and the United States and Canadian governments for police protection from the violence. Until two Mohawk people were killed, however, there was no response to these requests for help.

Another segment of the population, (led by casino operators and employees, and the paramilitary Mohawk Warrior Society), proclaims their people's right to rule their own lands and their own lives in any way they see fit. Their claims to Mohawk "sovereignty" include the operation of a lucrative smuggling trade, (running duty-free cigarettes and alcohol as well as illegal drugs and weapons across the U.S.-Canada border), and the operation of unsanctioned gambling casinos on the reservation with no approval whatsoever from any quarter--tribal, state or federal.

The Warriors say their actions are based on "sovereignty, their opponents call them "opportunist." This battle was, in fact, over money more than anything else, and to this day the situation at Akwesasne remains unresolved. Warriors continue to run guns in preparation for more battles in the struggle for a return of Mohawk independence, and traditional Mohawk chiefs continue to emphasize the ancient Iroquois Great Law of Peace.

The root cause of the problems at Akwesasne was not gambling, smuggling, feuding, or debate over the meaning of tribal sovereignty. The problems started with the destruction of the Mohawk people's traditional land base due to pollution along the St. Lawrence River. With the poisoning of the earth and her waters by industrial concerns upstream from Akwesasne, the people lost also their traditional culture and means of survival. The problems were confounded by the existence of a total of eight governmental bodies (not counting county and local governments), all vying for control of the Mohawk people. Between the United States government, the Canadian government, the New York State government, the governments of Ontario and Quebec, two federally-

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recognized tribal governments (one for the US, one for Canada), and the traditional Mohawk Counsel of the Iroquois Confederacy (the "real" government, unrecognized by any federal, state, or local governmental body), the reservation is a jurisdictional, as well as an environmental nightmare.

The biggest problems at Akwesasne prior to the Mohawk wars were unemployment, poor health, and drug and alcohol addiction. By 1990, the big problem was violence. There was no forum by which the people of Akwesasne could reach agreement; there was no process in place through which the three separate tribal governments could control anything. There was no recognition or enforcement of any one law. How the people of Akwesasne got by in this atmosphere of anarchy for so long (at least 200 years) can only be attributed to a pervasive respect for Iroquois traditional law.

The good news for the Mohawk people is that a lot of money was made by some individuals before gambling operations were shut down by the state of New York and federal law enforcement agencies. The bad news is that two men, one on each side of the conflict, died in the fight over whether or not Mohawks should be able to conduct their affairs in a state of lawlessness, their reservation a no-man's land of crime, violence, and disorder. The protests, the violence, the death and the gambling money--the good and the bad in this situation--were all legacies of Wounded Knee. According to AIM veteran Vernon Bellecotirt, "Today, the whole basis of a multibillion-dollar casino industry is based on our struggles of this movement 25 years ago" (Baenan, 1993).

Today, the children at Akwesasne fight battles of their own. Violent behavior has been reported on the playgrounds and on the school busses. On the streets, children can be seen dressed in military regalia, "shooting" at each other with plastic semi-automatic toys. They are playing a popular new game called "Pros verses Antis." Carol Francis, a youth counselor, explains:

> Children are learning that if they have a big gun, they win. If they have a lot of money, they're happy. Our [traditional] culture isn't like that. We believe in family, and community, and peace (Johansen, 1993).

Maybe had Alcatraz, the Trail of Broken Treaties, and Wounded Knee worked out differently--if some sort of positive response had been elicited from the government, or if Alcatraz had been turned over to Indians Of All Tribes, or if the situation at Pine Ridge had been remedied--maybe then Mohawk casino operators would have been more inclined to work with the various governments toward the establishment of legal gambling operations at Akwesasne. Maybe, if treaty rights had been upheld by the governments, and if sovereignty issues had been jointly clarified as the Indian activists had repeatedly requested, the issues at Akwesasne never would have arisen at all. We will never know.

We do know that over the past 30 years American Indian people have been actively asserting their rights to a lifestyle of their own choosing and a land base that is inviolable. These are the convictions which sparked the occupations of Alcatraz Island and Wounded Knee. These same convictions provoked the violent infighting on the Mohawk peoples' homeland. After centuries of effort, faith and fighting, Indians continue to be pushed and poisoned off their lands, and their efforts at tribal sovereignty are continuously being perverted by a government which has, thus far, managed to remain unaccountable for its actions.

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Phase IV: The Future of American Indian Activism (the future of America)

American Indian activists have made huge strides over the past 30 years, regardless of the fact that so much of the action has been devastating for the Indian people. The three B's: booze, boredom and bickering" have all played a part in the fight, acting both as stimulation and as deterrents to progress. Divisiveness and factionalism have played, perhaps, the largest role in the termination of activists' efforts.

In looking at the history of American Indian activism, it becomes quickly apparent that the really big activist efforts of the past 30 years--Alcatraz, the Trail of Broken Treaties, Wounded Knee, and the Mohawk wars--were all addressing the same issue; sovereignty and a recognition of treaty rights. Indians demanded the same three things each time; to be heard, to be recognized, and to be responded to. The activism only turned violent when the government refused to acknowledge the efforts being made at communication, and when it failed to address the activists' concerns.

Throughout three decades of American Indian activism, correlations can be drawn at every step of the way between the level of violence experienced in these incidents and the degree of involvement by the United States government. The more willing the government has been to listen, to recognize the Indians' complaints, and to respond to them, the less violence was resorted to. It was when the government failed to acknowledge the Indians' position that violence erupted. Always the violence was reactionary; never has it been independent of government provocation.

We can see the same thing happening across America, with violent reactions to governmental indifference increasing dramatically over the years. As people grow more and more frustrated and afraid, the more militant among us, the more defeated, the more angry, the more paranoid are splintering off into ever-scarier and more violent subgroups--all with the purported purpose of protecting the rights guaranteed to us as Americans. These people are demanding that the laws supporting their rights to free-speech and free-will be upheld.

As we watch the growth of militancy and deadly violence across America, another frightening pattern can be observed. The militancy and the violence have escalated in direct proportion to the sense of hopeless resignation which has slowly settled over activist efforts of every ilk. We have seen the formation of an ever-widening chasm between the citizens of this country and their government representatives. Hope, which was still so strong in America 30 years ago, has been largely replaced by feelings of hopelessness.

The hopelessness has settled in because activist efforts of the recent past did not work, and this is the scariest fact of all. Government actions and inactions alike have continued to inflame people, but until recently the flames have been smoldering in invisible places. The hot coals of discontent are, even now, leaping to life in extremist groups, hate groups, and terrorist militias throughout our country. Discontent, which 20 and 30 years ago was being expressed while resolutions were being sought, is now deeply buried in a people's bitter hatred. No efforts at all are being made by these people to communicate their discontent or seek solutions which might create a better world for all people. For Americans involved with these groups, all hope of peaceful resolution is long dead. The hope (if there ever was any) has been replaced by a defensive and paranoid anger.

The human needs for freedom and for self-determination are strong in the hearts of people everywhere, but they are especially strong in America. We like to think of ourselves as free people, strong people. We expect our government to be just. Everyone feels they deserve to be heard, and when our thoughts and convictions are supported by law and protected by the Constitution, we feel entitled to validation. The best thing American government can hope to do at this point is to make a concerted effort to start recognizing the psychological needs of its citizens.

If the last 30 years have taught us anything, it is that people must be affirmed in their convictions. They will find a way--sometimes a very dangerous way--to gain affirmation of their deepest and most basic convictions, especially if those convictions go unaddressed. Human needs cannot be stifled. They cannot be controlled. They will not retreat because of government threat, trickery, or censure. Left unattended, they will only fester and grow. They will mutate into angry, violent, pathological hatred. The hatred will eat people up. Bombs will explode; children will die.

Each phase in the development of American Indian activism has provided us with a timely reflection of progressively more violent and troubled times for all of America. Perhaps the warriors of AIM were, as Crow Dog suggested, the ancestors coming back, returning through the circle of life to forge a new direction on the path Indians were to follow (Zimmerman, 1976). Perhaps it is the Indian people who are leading us after all.

Maybe the road we are traveling is a hopeless one. America could be moving in a downward spiral, our country and its people destined to become ever more destructive and ugly as time passes. It is also possible that America is, even now, in the process of gravitating full-circle, back once again to a place where non-violent tactics are executed with a sense of joy by hearts filled with hope. The next phase, the fourth phase, of American Indian activism might show us all a good way for people to live together. In the 21st century, perhaps a new generation of Indians will uncover successful methods of activism we can only guess at from our vantage point here in Phase III. One thing is certain; the road will be forged by all of us. Americans of all colors and of all convictions are now faced with decisions that will, in substantial measure, affect Indian activism, and in fact all activism in the years to come.

Today, as we hear President Clinton calling for greater latitude in government discretion and a more pervasive infiltration into the operations of suspected' terrorist groups in America, and into the lives of the people affiliated with them, we owe it to ourselves to consider this idea very carefully. We need to look at this in the light of our past experience with such things. We must ask ourselves if our government has proven itself worthy of such a trust, and if it is likely now to be respectful of our laws and responsive to our concerns.

Calling for greater governmental powers of discretion for purposes of infiltrating and exposing these hate-groups is the wrong approach. It is a desperate approach, a dangerous approach. It is limited and it is reactive. It is based on fears and on perceived threats, not on strength. It is exactly the opposite of the course that we as a progressive people should be pursuing for our country, for ourselves, and for our children. We do not need to guard, infiltrate, terrorize, ignore, discount, inflame, spy upon and subvert each other. We need to listen to each other, and we need to uphold the constitution which protects all of our rights to be heard, to be recognized, and to be responded to.

For anything good to happen at any time, it is true, as John Mohawk said, that the government needs to "act right so there is hope" (Hornung, 1991). Without a firm base

of hope, at least some faith that people will listen, and good intent toward others no matter what their beliefs, activists of any persuasion, and governments of any construction can achieve little in the way of lasting change. We know this now, and getting to this place has been both great and terrible. Activists can be proud, and Indian activists (especially those who have struggled in the name of civil rights over the last 30 years) deserve our respect, if not our support. They have led us this far, and they have tried to help by working for freedom and by demanding that the United States government be accountable to the people in its trust. They have reminded us that what the government has done to the Indians, it is capable of doing to all Americans. They have done this for us all.

As we forge ahead with all manner of activist efforts in the future, there is one thing that all people--Indian and non-Indian; American and non-American; militant and government official--would do well to keep in mind--we are all children of the earth. We share the same needs.

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THE INDIAN GAMING ISSUE: A PERSPECTIVE ON THE FUTURE

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Why Gaming?

Gambling in America is a $330 billion dollar a year industry that has flourished when other industries slumped during our most recent recession. It is a business that brings in high revenue to cities and surrounding communities. Striving for their own economic freedom, Native Americans have sought various ways to develop their own economic autonomy. Ten years ago most tribes had no formal means to generate capital. Only 30 percent of tribal monies were generated from within the reservation leaving the tribes to rely on 70 percent to come from the United States government. Because of this, tribes are very dependent upon the government and this makes them vulnerable to federal cuts (O'Brien 1989). In attempting to combat this and to maintain a self-sufficient economy, tribes have attempted to develop their own resources.

The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act

Having the right to develop their own economies, tribes began to explore gaming. It appeared that gaming was a low risk investment opportunity in that capital investment is low and overhead is easily maintained. Because of this a tribe does not need to rely on outside investors and can provide the expenditures needed to start this program. In fact, tribes can ask the BIA for low interest loans for this investment (Cordeiro, 1992). As more and more tribes began to assert their sovereign power, they soon realized that they had found a niche in a market in which they had complete control. However, as more and more tribes began to turn to gaming, state officials wanted to tap into the flow of spending on Indian gambling and wanted to limit it to avoid saturating the market (Greenberg, 1992). They began to assert their opinions in court.

In a 1987 landmark case that involved the State of California and the Cabazon Band of Mission Indians, the Cabazon attorney, Jerome Levine, argued that as long as a state had that form of legalized gambling, the Indian tribes in that state should have the right to offer the same game without governmental restrictions (Cordiero, 1992). Suddenly, Congress had a large ball in their lap to either deflate or kick into action. Shortly thereafter the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act came bounding into existence.

Two Senators were instrumental in designing and sponsoring a bill to take to the floor which would become the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. They were Senators Daniel Inouye of Hawaii and Daniel Evans of Washington (Morales, 1991). They had three purposes in mind for such an Act:

1. To provide the statutory for the operation of gaming by Indian tribes as a means of promoting tribal economic development, self-sufficiency, and strong tribal governments.
2. To provide a statutory basis for the regulation of gaming by an Indian tribe adequate to shield it from organized crime and other corrupting influences, to ensure that the Indian tribe is the primary beneficiary of the gaming operation, and to assure that gaming is conducted fairly and honestly both by operator and players.
3. To declare that the establishment of independent federal regulatory authority for gaming on Indian lands, the establishment of federal standards

> for gaming on Indian lands, and the establishment of a National Indian Gaming Commission are necessary to meet congressional concerns regarding gaming and to protect such gaming as a means of generating tribal revenue. (Declaration Policy P.L. 100-497, IGRA, 1988).

The 1988 Gaming Act devised a structure that was consistent with federal law and with gaming structures throughout the United States. The Act is designed to ensure that more serious forms of gambling be developed. As gambling is a business where cash itself is the product, entities such as organized crime are attracted. With the existence of large cash prizes without a paper trail, it was imperative for Congress to institute tough regulations to protect Indian people (Eadington, 1990). In an effort to effectively regulate Indian gaming operations, Congress permitted the states in which the reservations are located to participate in the regulatory process. The general provisions are as follows:

Class I gaming

> These are social games solely for prizes of minimal value or traditional forms of Indian gaming engaged in by individuals as a part of, or in connection with, tribal ceremonies or celebration.

Class II gaming

> These are games of chance commonly known as bingo which is played for prizes including monetary prizes with cards bearing numbers or other designations. It is where the holder of the card covers such numbers of designations when objects, similarly numbered of designated, are drawn of electronically determined, and in which the game is won by the first person covering a previously designated arrangement of numbers or designations on such cards, including pull-tabs, lotto, punch boards, tip jars, instant bingo, and other games similar to bingo. It also includes card games that are explicitly authorized by the laws of the state, or are not explicitly prohibited by the laws of the state, and are played at any location in the state. It does not include any banking card games, including baccarat, chemin de fer, or blackjack (21), or electronic or electro-mechanical facsimiles of any game of chance or slot machines of any kind.

Class III gaming

> This means all forms of gaming that are not Class I gaming or Class II gaming. These are the catch all for every other form of gambling: lotteries, parimutuel betting on dogs, horses, and men, sports betting, slot machines and casino games. (Declaration Policy P.L. 100-497, IGRA, 1988).

In order for tribes to partake in Class III gaming, they must enter into a compact with the state in which they are located. Congress requires that states act in good faith. Presently, the door has been left wide open for most forms of gaming; however, some types have yet to be tested. It is likely that other forms will be developed.

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Tribal leaders presently possess mixed feelings regarding the Act, once again showing discontent for federal government involvement with their sovereignty. Eddie Tullis, Chairman of the Poarch Band of Creek Indian in Alabama, stated:

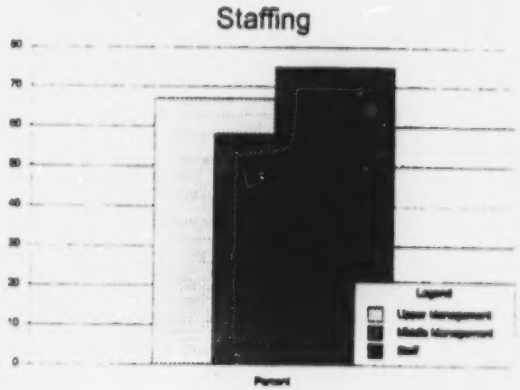
> It is my opinion that we as tribal people lost something when Congress passed he Indian Gaming Act. I don't want anyone to leave this conference thinking that a bunch of dumb Indians don't realize that something was lost. Some of us see it as a slicing away of tribal sovereignty. . . . Many of us are concerned about the fact that the state of Nevada, and particularly representatives of Las Vegas and Reno, were in the forefront in the fight against Indian Gaming. We understand their position, not from a tribal sovereignty perspective, but strictly from an economic perspective (Morales, 1991).

Research and Methods

Following the passage of the Indian Gaming Act, compacts began being formed between the tribes and the states where they are located. As of March 23, 1995, 115 tribes and 23 states have entered into a total of 131 compacts (BIA Office of the Commissioner). Twenty-five percent of the facilities identifying 2 from each applicable state and all the facilities located in South Dakota were selected. An 11-question survey was sent (see Appendix I). Response to the questionnaire was poor which required follow-up contact by telephone. In total, 12 facilities, 8 of which were in South Dakota, responded adequately for the purpose of comparison. The following is based upon these facilities.

One of the first questions asked was how long had the casino been in operation. Nation wide, 66 percent reported being open for 2 to 5 years, 25 percent reported being open for 6 to 10 years, and 8 percent for over 10 years with these casinos originally being bingo facilities that recently signed a compact and moved to a Class III gaming facility. In South Dakota 100 percent of the casinos have been in operation for 2 to 5 years.

Staffing included primarily Native American employment. From this upper management showed 67% employment of Native Americans with 58% employment of middle management. For facility staffing, facilities reported that 75% of their employment was Native American.



Fifty-eight percent of the tribes reported that they had 100 percent tribal investors. The rest reported that their investors were private and some tribal. Five questions about earning, advertising, gaming, and years of operation were examined. These were first ranked and then run through a parametric analysis to determine any significant differences. From this, it was determined that earnings, access, and advertising correlated. The facilities with better access and advertising had a significant impact on earnings. This analysis was then run through "DotPlot" using the statistical program MiniTab (see Appendix II). This shows that the better the access you have, the better earnings you will have. Also, the more that you advertise, the better the earnings you will have. Ultimately, the better the access and advertising that you have, the more profits you will show.

Taking this into account, years of operation, earnings, and advertising were examined. The chart below shows that as a tribe stayed open longer, their earnings increased and followed the same plot as the years open. The tribes showing the lesser earnings and higher years of operation failed to advertise and had insufficient access (see Appendix III).

The short term future of gaming is bright; however, there may come a time when the market will saturate itself. To look at the 12 casinos in South Dakota, their population, and yearly income were used (Berg, 1994). The number of people per casino was 2808. Total income per person is $2974 per year. If 20 percent of the income was spent on gaming per person, per year, this would give each casino a total of $1,670,760. In order to look at this model and be consistent to determine if indeed a market would saturate itself, other means of income coming into the areas where casinos are located were not included, nor were birth or death rates determined. Since all of South Dakota's casinos have been open for 5 or less years and assuming that a casino would have an increase of 20 percent each successive year, the formula $P = .20t$ was used. Where P is the $1,670,760, .20 is the increase, and t is time. In 5 years a straight climb on the graph to $1,670,760 was shown. The next question asked was, "What would happen if after 5 years another casino were to enter the market based upon the current population and income and another every year thereafter?" The results showed a decrease in income below the operation value after 20 years (see Appendix IV).

The Tonkawa tribal bingo reported that they were only open once a month. During that time they bring in over $3 million dollars. One-hundred percent of the profits go to the tribe, but now there has been approval for river boat gaming and this is expected to end their corner on the market. This year the manager expects to break even. Next year he anticipates that for the first time in ten years they will lose money (Tonkawa, 1995).

Conclusion

Because of this saturation, it is imperative that tribes must be willing to invest in other forms of economic development; otherwise, they will be in the same position that they were 10 years ago. Most tribes do this; however, 8 surveys indicated that they gave all their earnings to tribal members and did not invest in any other form of development. Of the surveys returned, over 75 percent reported that they invested in some form of cultural development such as cultural centers, school projects, scholarships, and

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museums. In North Dakota tribes sign into their compacts that 25 percent of earnings go to other forms of economic development and 15 percent goes into educational funds (Berg, 1994). In Idaho, the manager of the Coeur d' Alene Tribal Casino stated in a telephone interview that they had a successful accounting for all of their earnings. He said that they had invested in Idaho's public school system by purchasing AT&T computers that teach the children traditional language. He also said that they had built a health center on the reservation that would prove to be a model for Indian Health Services across the nation. Recently, the Coeur d' Alene tribe also took a step forward in their right for economic development and announced a national lottery that will be accessible to anyone throughout the United States on their home computers (Tonkawa, 1995).

Tribes need to advertise and provide better access to their facility. Successful tribes that are in remote areas offer discount bus trips to their facilities from major urban centers. Along with the bus trip, discount packages are given such as free tokens, discounts in rooms, and free meals. These tribes also saw an increase in other forms of economic development around their casinos. This included truck stops and food service facilities.

By staffing 100 percent Native Americans, it provides for a sound economic base on the reservation community. This will increase the amount that will be spent in the reservations and will allow for private Indian business to develop. Sound management practices such as hiring, better training, and solid advertising will help the tribes the most out of this endeavor.

There is still a long way to go before the market may saturate itself. As long as tribes can use the earnings wisely, then gaming will be a huge success. It may benefit the tribes to the degree that they might be able to prosper independently in the future. At present, Indian gaming is enjoying moderate success.

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Appendix I

Please take a moment and answer the following questions, it should take you about 20 minutes. If you need more space, please feel free to use additional paper. If you cannot answer a question for any reason, leave it blank. When you are finished, please return this questionnaire in the self addressed stamped envelope.

Name _____ Title _____

1. How long has your casino been in operation? (Check One)
   - ❒ Less than 1 year
   - ❒ 2-5 years
   - ❒ 6-10 years
   - ❒ More than 10 years

2. What types of gaming do you offer? (Check One)
   - ❒ Class I gaming
   - ❒ Class II gaming
     (Circle all that apply) Bingo, Pull Tabs, Lotto, Punch Boards, Tip Jars, Instant Bingo
     Card Games (Please specify what types) _____
   - ❒ Class III gaming (Please Circle) Authorized Unauthorized

3. What types of non-Indian economic development have you observed taking place in your area? (check all that apply)
   - ❒ Gaming Support Services — Approximate Number _____
   - ❒ Food Service Facilities — Approximate Number _____
   - ❒ Convenience Stores — Approximate Number _____
   - ❒ Retail Outlets — Approximate Number _____
   - ❒ Other (please specify) _____

4. With your current earnings, what types of cultural promotion is taking place amongst your tribe?
   (Check all that apply)
   - ❒ Museums
   - ❒ Social Centers
   - ❒ Education
   - ❒ National promotional methods employed (circle all that apply) T.V., Radio, Printed Media, Other

5. Describe the access to your facility and the distance from it (Check one)
   - ❒ Highway ❒ Interstate ❒ Airport ❒ Rail ❒ Other
   - Distance _____ _____ _____ _____ _____

6. Please describe the staffing of your facility and include approximate numbers
   - Management ❒ Indian ___ ❒ Non-Indian ___
   - Middle Management ❒ Indian ___ ❒ Non-Indian ___
   - Staff ❒ Indian ___ ❒ Non-Indian ___

7. What type of revenue did you receive at the end of last fiscal year? Please approximate dollar amount $_____

8. What was your overhead costs at the end of last fiscal year? Please approximate dollar amount $_____

Please take a moment and answer the following questions, it should take you about 20 minutes. If you need more space, please feel free to use additional paper. If you cannot answer a question for any reason, leave it blank. When you are finished, please return this questionnaire in the self addressed stamped envelope.

9. Do you anticipate growth? ❒ Yes ❒ No

10. Who are your investors?

11. What do you do with your earnings from your operation?

12. Do you provide or are you required to provide any services for gambling addiction?
    - ❒ Yes ❒ No Please explain _____

If you have any additional materials that you can distribute, please enclose them in... brochures, maps etc.

Thank you for your time

Gene M. Meier
(Lakota)

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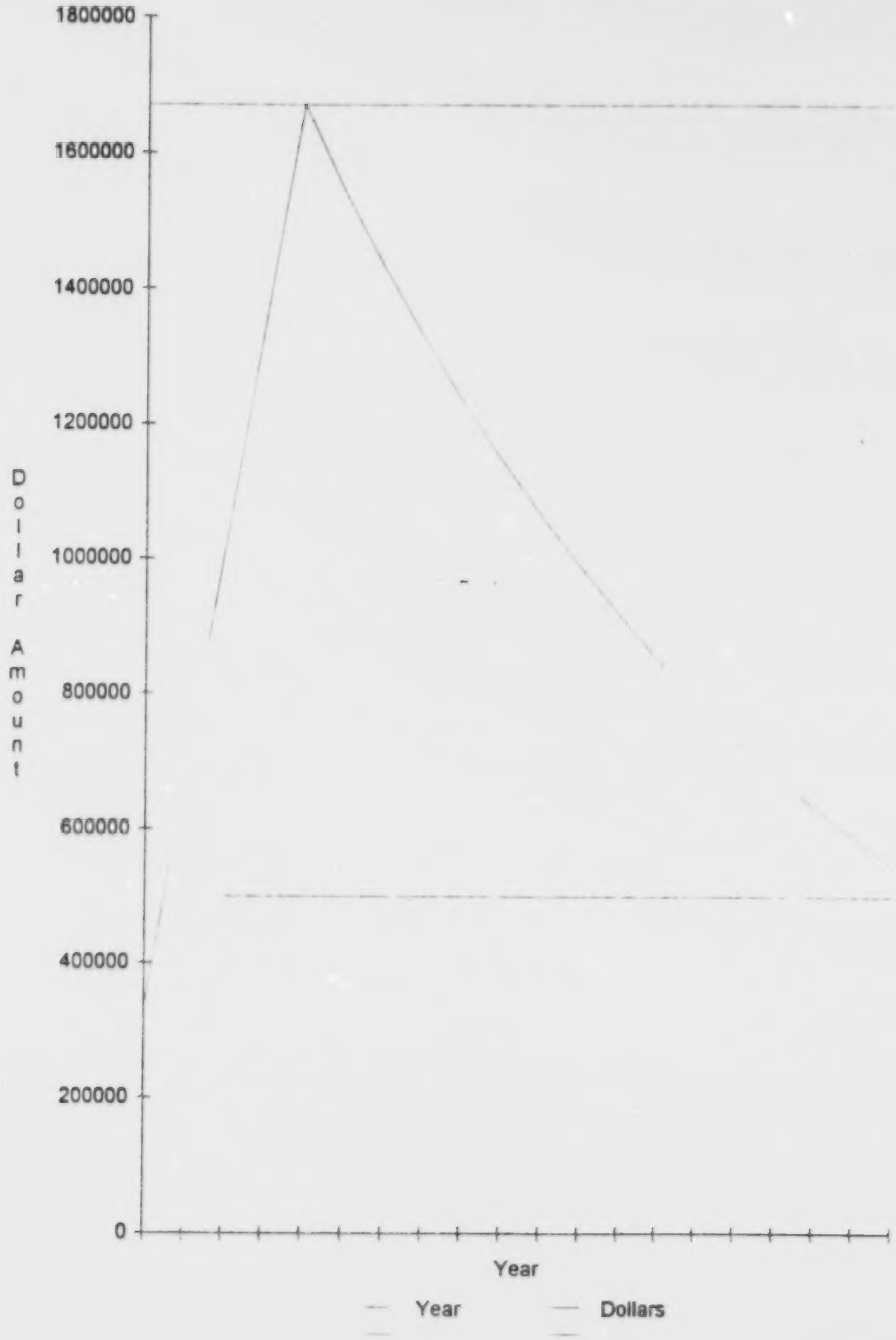
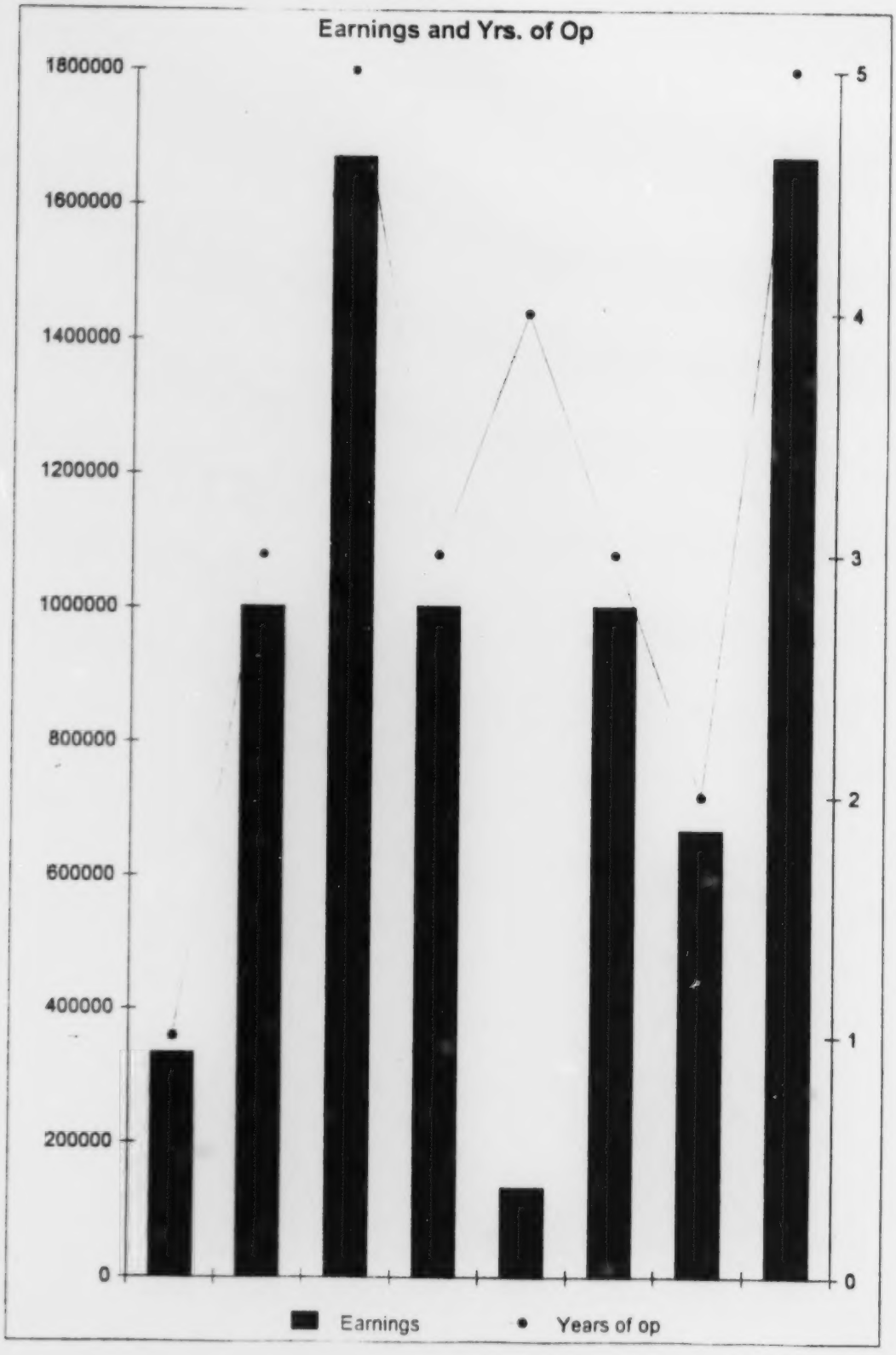
Appendix II

Saturation



Appendix III



Appendix IV

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MTB > DotPlot 'Earnings' 'Access' 'Advert' 'Gaming' 'yrs op'.
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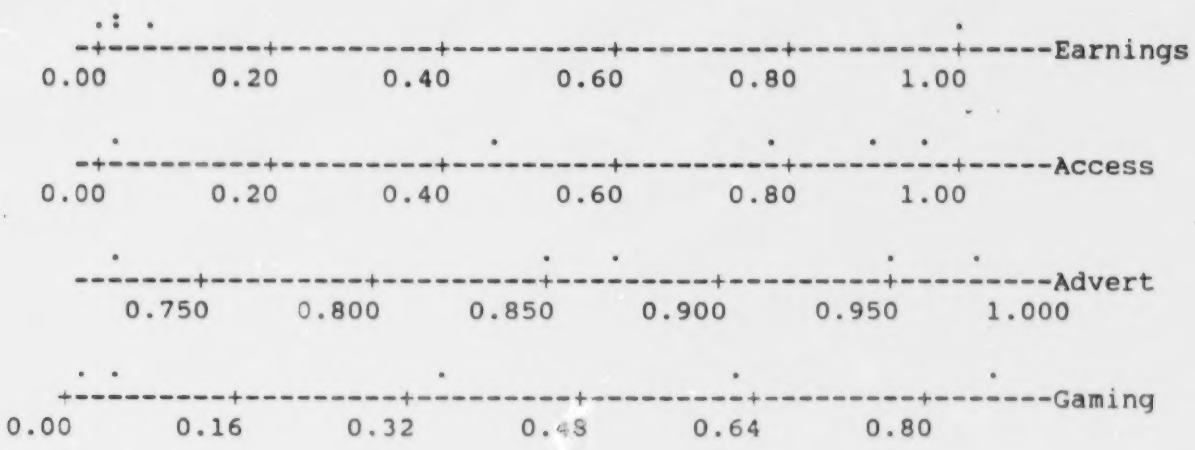

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE CORRELATION BETWEEN ALCOHOL USE AND RAPE

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46

Rape, throughout the years, has been defined in many different ways. Current usages include rape, acquaintance rape, and date rape. In addition to each of these distinctions, each state has specific laws on what is defined as rape. Rape, in the State of South Dakota, is defined as:

> an act of sexual penetration accomplished with any person under any of the following circumstances: (1) If the victim is less than ten years of age; or (2) Through the use of force, coercion or threats of immediate and great bodily harm against the victim or other person within the victim's presence, accompanied by apparent power of execution; or (3) If the victim is incapable, because of physical or mental incapacity, of giving consent to such act; or (4) If the victim is incapable of giving consent because of any intoxicating, narcotic or anesthetic agent or hypnosis; or (5) If the victim is ten years of age, but less than 16 years of age, and the perpetrator is at least three years older than the victim; or (6) If persons are not legally married and who are within degrees of consanguinity within which marriages are by the laws of this state declared void, which is also defined as incest (SDCL 22-22-1).

1) The general description of acquaintance rape is "a rape in which the victim and the assailant know each other, whether they are friends, spouses, lovers or people who just know each other" (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993). Date rape, on the other hand is "included in the definition of acquaintance rape and describes rape" that occurs on a date (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993).

A distinction between these different types of rape needs to be made due to the fact that most people define rape as a stranger rape. The problem with this definition is that while "approximately one-quarter [of women] have experienced rape or attempted rape, . . . the overwhelming majority of these have been acquaintance rapes" (Norris & Cubbins, 1992). Thus, while most people envision the rapist as a stranger, the majority of rapes are committed by someone the victim is familiar with. This may contribute to feelings of guilt in the victim and low reporting rates. Studies indicate that between "20 and 25 percent of college women have experienced forced sex . . . at some time during their college career" (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993). Also, although we are not sure of the exact percentage of men being raped due to low reporting rates, it does happen. In addition, approximately "three-quarters of acquaintance rapes involve alcohol consumption on the part of the victim, the assailant, or both" (Norris & Cubbins, 1992). These statistics could be misleading due to the fact that these are just those rapes that are reported. It is estimated that only about one out of ten rapes are reported, with fewer acquaintance rapes being reported.

The studies examining the relationship between alcohol use and rape are few and far between. Most of the studies done either examine perceptions of certain hypothetical situations or risk factors that either possibly lead to these actions or contribute to the rape, with one of these risk-taking behaviors being alcohol consumption.

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Norris & Cubbins (1992) found that student's perceptions of the rape scenario depended on who involved was drinking.

> Respondents were least likely to believe that the assailant had committed rape when both had been drinking and most likely to believe it when only the victim had been drinking. [Another finding was that those respondent's] with more positive rape attitudes were more likely to view the victims' behavior as (1) responsive to the assailant . . . (2) easy to seduce . . . (3) willing to have sex with the assailant . . . (4) responsible for the outcome of the date . . . and (5) not resistant to the assailant (Norris & Cubbins, 1992).

In addition to these results, the respondents thought "the victim to have been (1) more responsive to the assailant . . . (2) more likable . . . (3) more responsible for the outcome of the date . . . and (4) to have enjoyed herself more" if the perpetrator had been drinking (Norris & Cubbins, 1992).

Rapaport and Burkhart (1984) completed a study in which several scales were used to measure "coercive sexual" acts. They found that college males involve themselves in various "coercive sexual behavior[s]," with 15 percent stating they had forced intercourse and 12 percent "physically restraining a woman to gain sexual advantage" (Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984). As far as predictors of "coercive sexual behavior," Rapaport and Burkhart (1984) found that "personality and endorsement of aggression variables were useful predictors." They also found that "traditional attitudes toward women" were not predictable of "coercive sexual behavior" (Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984).

In some opposition to this study, Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) found that several risk factors appeared to affect the amount of "sexual aggression in dating situations." Some of these factors are the man's initiating the date, paying all the expenses, and driving; miscommunication about sex; heavy alcohol or drug use; 'parking' and men's acceptance of traditional sex roles, interpersonal violence, adversarial attitudes about relationships, and rape myths (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). The finding of a risk factor of acceptance of traditional sex roles contradicts the finding of Rapaport and Burkhart (1984).

In the present study, we decided to examine, first, if the incidence of rape was similar to the country's incidence of rape on college campuses or if the aspects of a small campus or a small community would effect the prevalence and attitudes towards rape. Specifically, we added the factor of alcohol to examine if there was any evidence that this was a risk factor for the incidence of rape behaviors and ideation. It was predicted that a higher use of alcohol and a more sexually active lifestyle would lead to a greater incidence of rape. Also, we wanted to examine the characteristics surrounding rape.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were 210 male and female college students attending Black Hills State

University (see Attachment 1). Subjects were recruited from several classes. Their participation was strictly voluntary. The classes chosen consisted of several different subject areas in order to get a more broad selection of subjects. Subject areas chosen were Sociology, Psychology, and Native American Studies. Subjects were asked to refrain from taking the survey twice as not to duplicate results. There were 89 males and 121 females, indicating an over-representation of females. There were approximately equal numbers of non-traditional and traditional students. Forty percent of the subjects were seniors with 29 percent classified as junior status. The remaining 30 percent was approximately equally distributed between freshmen and sophomores. Having such a high percentage of seniors allowed us to examine more years of the college experience. The age of the subjects varied from 17 to 46 and older. Forty percent of the subjects were between 21 and 25 and 22 percent were between 17 and 20 years old. The majority (69 percent) of the subjects were single. Married subjects had the next highest percentage with 26 percent. The majority of the subjects were white with only 13 subjects being other races besides white with no Asian Americans represented.

Instrument

The measure used in the experiment was a survey-questionnaire (see Attachment 2). The survey contained 37 questions covering such areas as alcohol use, sexual activities, and general biographical questions. Other questions contained in the survey were related indirectly and directly to rape. Some of the questions asked were about specific acts committed or experienced, while other questions examined perceptions of certain hypothetical situations. All responses were rated with a yes or no answer, except for the biographical information.

Procedure

Subjects were given a brief description of the study. After agreeing to participate in the study, each volunteer was asked to read and sign a consent form. Each subject was also informed of the purpose of the study and how and who to contact with any questions arising after the completion of the survey. Subjects were also told that the survey was completely voluntary and if they wanted to quit at any time, they could do so without any penalization. The consent forms were then collected so that names were not associated with the surveys.

Surveys were distributed with answer sheets. Subjects were asked not to place any identifying marks, such as names or social security numbers, on the surveys to protect anonymity. When the subjects completed the surveys, they returned their surveys in a pile turned upside down to further protect their identity. After all the surveys were returned, a debriefing was conducted in which questions were answered and the main purpose of the study was revealed.

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Results

This study was an exploratory investigation into the relationship between rape and alcohol. All results are based upon correlational analysis of the survey questions.

Alcohol usage proved to be an important variable. Its usage was positively correlated with levels of sexual activity and number of partners indicating that high levels of alcohol consumption were related to increased sexual activity with more partners. Alcohol consumption was also related to attitudes about sexual activity. Individuals who indicated high levels of alcohol consumption were more likely to believe: that sex with an unconscious individual is acceptable and forced intercourse between marital partners is NOT rape. The most startling finding indicated that individuals consuming higher levels of alcohol were more likely to report that they would force someone to have sex if they believed they could get away with it.

Previous research has examined the issue of coercion to obtain sex, such as argument, anger, emotional pressure, threats of force, and actual use of force. According to the State of South Dakota, use of coercion with the power to execute is considered rape. The number of sexual partners was positively correlated with coercion. Individuals who had higher numbers of sexual partners were more likely to have engaged in sexually coercive acts such as lying for sex, using emotional pressure, using alcohol to obtain sex, and forcing sex upon someone who is considered sexually promiscuous. The number of partners was also related to attitudes about rape. Individuals who had higher numbers of sexual partners were more likely to believe that if a person loves you, they should consent to sex and that if they got their partner sexually aroused, the partner should consent to sex.

The survey presented questions asking about direct actions either committed against another person or upon themselves. This permitted some examination of the beliefs of individuals either committing rape or using coercive actions to obtain sex. First, the findings indicated that individuals using coercive actions had used a wide range of these actions ranging from emotional pressure to actual force. These findings suggest that when the more subtle coercion is unsuccessful, more aggressive actions were used. Second, individuals employing these coercive techniques maintained some traditional sex role ideation. Those individuals believed that if they spent money on their date, the date owed them sex. Further, these individuals believed that their partner often said no when they meant yes.

Discussion

The results of the study indicated that alcohol did in fact have an influence on sexual behavior and attitudes. Respondents who consumed higher levels of alcohol were more likely to believe that they would force someone to have sex with them if they believed they could get away with it. In addition, respondents with increased numbers of sexual partners were more likely to have engaged in sexually coercive acts including using alcohol to obtain sex. These results show that the small size of Black Hills State University and the small size of Spearfish did not change the attitudes towards rape or the incidence of sexually coercive acts.

The major limitation of this study was that a question indicating where these acts

of sexual coercion happened was omitted. This could confound the results due to the fact that these acts could have been perpetrated elsewhere besides Black Hills State University and the respondents came here after the act was committed. This limitation could be the subject of further research to examine exactly how much of the sexual coercive acts are happening on the Black Hills State University campus. Another topic of further research could be to examine specifically how many of these acts are happening in the dormitories on campus.

This research leads to a couple of conclusions. As indicated by the research, those respondents who consumed higher levels of alcohol didn't believe that it was rape when a marriage partner forced the other partner to have sex when in fact it is rape. This indicates that we need to educate, perhaps at younger ages, on what exactly rape is. With so many definitions, people often just think of the stranger rape and don't believe other situations of forced sex are rape.

In addition, education on communication between men and women needs to be implemented. The need for this was shown by the fact that in the survey respondents employing coercive techniques also believed that their partner often meant yes when they said no. This indicates a need to educate that no means no, and also to teach people to be more honest and open in sexual relationships.

Last, there needs to be more education to teach more responsible alcohol use. As shown by the study, alcohol does play a part in rape and sexual attitudes. Possibly if we educated about responsible alcohol use, we could change attitudes and the incidence of rape.

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Attachment 1

Biographical Information of Respondents

Classification	Number
Gender:	
Male	89
Female	121
Class Status:	
Freshman	28
Sophomore	37
Junior	59
Senior	85
Marital Status:	
Divorced	25
Married	54
Single	130
Separated	0
Widowed	1
Age:	
17-20	46
21-25	84
26-34	38
35-45	32
46 and older	9
Race:	
Native American	8
African-American	3
Asian-American	0
White/Caucasian	194
Other	2
Student Status:	
Traditional	107
Non-Traditional	103

Attachment 2

Survey Used to Measure Correlation Between Alcohol and Rape

The purpose of this survey is to examine issues of sexual practices. Please fill in your answers on the response sheet provided. You are in no way obligated to complete this questionnaire. All responses will be kept confidential. Please do not write your name on any of the forms. This questionnaire will require approximately fifteen minutes of your time.

1. Are you sexually active?

   A. Yes B. No (If no, skip to question 4.)

2. If yes, how many sexual partners have you had in the last year?

   A. 1-3 B. 4-6 C. 7-10 D. 11-15 E. 15 or more

3. If yes, about how many times do you engage in sex in an average week?

   A. 1-3 times B. 4-6 times C. 7 or more times

4. Do you drink alcoholic beverages?

   A. Yes B. No (If no, skip to question 7.)

5. If yes, how often do you consume alcohol per month?

   A. 1-3 times B. 4-6 times C. 7-9 times
   D. 10 or more times

6. If yes, how many drinks do you consume at one time when you do drink?

   A. 1-3 drinks B. 4-6 drinks C. 7 or more drinks

7. Have you ever had sex with someone after they said no once?

   A. Yes B. No

8. Have you ever physically forced someone to have sex with you?

   A. Yes B. No

9. Have you ever argued with someone who didn't want to have sex until they agreed to have sex with you?

   A. Yes B. No

10. If a person doesn't physically resist, is it alright to have sex with them even if they say no?

    A. Yes B. No

11. Have you ever had sex with someone who was under the influence of alcohol?

    A. Yes B. No

12. Have you ever been physically forced to have sex?

A. Yes B. No

13. If your partner said no to sex, would you force them to have sex anyway?

A. Yes B. No

14. Have you ever been emotionally pressured to have sex?

A. Yes B. No

15. Have you ever had sex with someone after they said no consistently over and over?

A. Yes B. No

16. Would you consider it alright to have sex with someone who is unconscious from alcohol use?

A. Yes B. No

17. Do you believe that your date owes you sex if you have spent money on them?

A. Yes B. No

18. Have you ever been verbally threatened to have sex?

A. Yes B. No

19. If you knew you could get away with it, would you force someone to have sex with you?

A. Yes B. No

20. Have you ever lied to get sex?

A. Yes B. No

21. Have you ever had sex while under the influence of alcohol?

A. Yes B. No

22. Have you ever used verbal threats to obtain sex?

A. Yes B. No

23. Do you believe that if a person loves you, they should have sex with you?

A. Yes B. No

24. Do you think your partner ever says no and means yes?

A. Yes B. No

25. Is it acceptable to force sex on someone who is considered sexually promiscuous?

A. Yes B. No

26. Have you ever used emotional pressure to obtain sex?

A. Yes B. No

27. Do you think if a person gets their partner sexually aroused, they should consent to sex?

A. Yes B. No

28. If a couple has been dating for over six months, do you believe both partners should consent to sex?

A. Yes B. No

29. If two people are married and one partner forces the unwilling partner to have sex, would you consider this rape?

A. Yes B. No

30. If a person goes to another person's room or house alone, do you think they are asking for sex?

A. Yes B. No

31. If a married couple has been separated, but one partner returns for sex despite the other partner not wanting sex, would you consider this rape?

A. Yes B. No

32. Gender:

A. Male B. Female

33. You are a:

A. Freshman B. Sophomore C. Junior D. Senior

34. Marital Status:

A. Divorced B. Married C. Single D. Separated
E. Widowed

35. Age:

A. 17-20 B. 21-25 C. 26-34 D. 35-45
E. 46 and older

36. Race:

A. Native American B. African-American C. Asian-American
D. White/Caucasian E. Other

37. How do you describe yourself:

A. Traditional Student B. Non-Traditional Student

WOMEN AND MENTAL HEALTH: ISSUES OF DIAGNOSIS AND CAUSATION

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Introduction

Psychology possesses a sordid history in the treatment of patients, particularly women (Chesler, 1972). Throughout history, women have comprised the majority of patients seen by mental health professionals. Women also differ from men in the type of mental illness suffered. This discussion will examine the differences between men and women in prevalence of certain disorders. In addition, biological and environmental explanations for these differences will be considered.

The literature is replete with examples of differential treatment of men and women in psychology. One of the most famous historical cases is Dora, a patient of Sigmund Freud. Dora was presented to Freud by her father at the age of 18. She suffered from several symptoms of hysteria. Freud discovered, through therapy, that Dora's father was having an affair with the neighbor's wife. Apparently, the neighbor was pursuing Dora in exchange for his wife. Dora's symptoms began when the neighbor made advances toward her. After revealing the advance to her father, he confronted the neighbor who denied everything. Dora was then, delivered to Freud for treatment. Freud eventually acknowledged that Dora's perceptions were correct but never told Dora because it would disrupt HER neurotic behavior. Freud believed that his job was to convince Dora that her neurosis was self-induced, and get her to renounce her own perceptions in favor of her father's (Lakoff, 1990).

In other examinations of Freud's cases, it is clear that Freud treated women differently. Women were forced to acknowledge truths while male patients discovered truths with Freud. For Freud, women's objections were easy to brush aside.

One other famous historical example of the differential treatment involves Zelda Fitzgerald, the wife of author Scott Fitzgerald. Zelda was believed by many to possess greater literary talents than Scott. When Zelda pursued these interests and proclaimed desires to be a creative, famous artist rather than fitting into the role of wife and mother, Scott became offended. When Zelda was institutionalized, her therapy consisted of a re-education of her role as a wife to Scott and mother. She was considered deviant because she behaved in ways counter to the norm for women. Zelda died in a mental asylum fire at the age of 48 (Chesler, 1972).

Are these brief historical case studies relics from a more brutal past in the mental health industry or are they part of a larger trend of disparate treatment (and mistreatment) based on gender? Is mental well-being still based upon gender role norms?

Psychological Diagnosis

The issue of making a psychological diagnosis is a complicated one. To assist professionals in their diagnosis, the Diagnostic Statistical Manual (DSM) was developed. This manual contains categories of mental illnesses accompanied by specific criteria necessary for making the diagnosis.

However, psychological symptoms are not evaluated in a social vacuum. Landrine (1988, 1989) asked students to guess the demographic background of descriptions of patients. The students were very consistent. Students believed the description of mild depression was a White, middle class female. In the description

Table 1
DSM III DISORDERS GROUPED BY PREVALENT SEX

Women Predominate	Men Predominate
Depression	Alcoholism
Agoraphobia	Drug abuse
Sexual dysfunction	Antisocial behavior
Simple phobias	Transsexualism
Anxiety states	Pathological gambling
Somatization disorder	Pyromania
Multiple personality	Intermittent explosive disorder
Histrionic personality disorder	Paranoid personality disorder
Borderline personality disorder	Antisocial personality disorder
Dependent personality disorder	Compulsive personality disorder

(Fodor & Rothblum, 1984).

of dependent personality, students consistently guessed it was a married, middle-class, White female. Antisocial personality disorder was believed to be a young, lower-class man. Clinicians are not tricked by these descriptions. Nevertheless, clinicians will label a stereotypical description of a single, middle-class White woman as hysterical; a stereotypical description of a married, middle-class woman is labeled as depressed. This work points out a clear connection between gender stereotypes and diagnosis.

An additional consideration in making psychological diagnoses is the source and type of information given to the mental health professional. Sources include friends, family, or the client themselves. The behaviors reported are likely to be those considered unusual or unacceptable according to normative standards. If different normative standards exist for men and women, it is likely that differential treatment results from these different standards of behavior.

Diagnostic Differences Between Men and Women

There are differences in the prevalence of diagnoses of mental disorders for men and women (see Table 1). For example, there are much higher numbers of women being diagnosed with depression than men; much higher numbers of men are diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder than women. Statistics from a 1980 national sample found that nearly 60 percent of all patients were women.

The high rate of depression in women is an interesting phenomenon. As children, more boys than girls exhibit depression. Prior to World War II, more men than women were admitted to mental hospitals (Unger, 1979). In countries such as India, Iraq, and New Guinea, more men than women are diagnosed as depresssed (Rothblum, 1983).

Depression has received extensive attention because of its prevalence in society. This disorder provides an opportunity to examine the source of differences in depression for men and women.

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Depression

Depression is a good example of a mental disorder seen far more frequently in women than men. It is estimated that 5 to 26 percent of women and 2 to 12 percent of men will suffer depression at some point during their life. Symptoms of depression include: loss of appetite, insomnia, fatigue, depressed mood, loss of interest in activities previously enjoyed, and feelings of inadequacy or guilt.

What is the source of this difference in rates of depression in men and women? Is it biologically caused (sex-linked) or socially/environmentally (gender-related) caused?

Sex-Related Differences

One possible explanation for the differences links them to hormonal differences. Clearly, hormonal differences exist between men and women. However, can these hormonal differences be clearly linked to mood? This argument is frequently used to explain disorders such as pre-menstrual syndrome (PMS), postnatal depression, and menopausal depression.

In recent surveys (Laws, 1983), most women believe they have suffered from pre-menstrual syndrome (PMS) symptoms at some point. Its severe, debilitating form is known as late luteal phase dysphoric disorder (LLPDD) and has been included in the DSM-IV as a disorder. Some of the problems surrounding this disorder involve the criteria. The range of symptoms is enormous. There is a wide range of time during the menstrual cycle when the disorder can emerge. In other words, the criteria for the disorder are so loosely defined that virtually any unpleasant symptom experienced during a month can be called PMS (Ussher, 1989). Further, there is very little evidence connecting mood changes with the menstrual cycle (Laws, 1983). Women who report the most severe PMS symptoms are more likely to be married and working at home caring for small children (Sanders, Warner, Backstrom, & Bancroft, 1983).

Postnatal depression has been estimated to affect 3 to 25 percent of women (Eliot, 1984). This disorder has obviously been connected with the female experience of childbearing and the accompanying hormonal changes. Again, the problems surrounding this disorder involve inconsistent criteria, particularly for the risk period. Yet, many young women with children under the age of five are depressed (Oakley, 1986). Opponents point to the demands of raising small children and use as evidence the severe depression suffered by male caregivers of young children (Jenkins, 1985).

Menopausal depression is another example of a biological explanation for women's higher rates of depression. In keeping with the problems of the previous two "biological" depressions, there is little consistency in the definition or criteria. Further, most women report relief at the end of their childbearing years and increased sexual freedom.

These three biological explanations for womens' depression have poorly defined criteria and very little evidence to support them. This attempt to link biological functions to a mental disorder creates a potentially dangerous situation. Linking womens' biology to a predisposition for mental illness creates the biological inferiority and instability of women. This biological determinism undermines examination of social causes of womens' unhappiness and could result in the inappropriate use of chemicals, hormones,

and psychotropic drugs for treatment.

Gender-Related Differences

The social construction of gender differences in mental disorders points to gender-appropriate roles as the source. Men and women are socialized to behave in gender-appropriate ways (e.g., men must be strong and unemotional; women are permitted to have emotional outbursts). Behaving in gender-appropriate ways may increase the risk for one sex developing gender-related disorders. Behaving like a woman increases a woman's chance of developing depression, agoraphobia, or an eating disorder (Unger, 1988). These disorders show a tremendous degree of overlap between symptomology and stereotypes of women such as passivity and dependence. Gender-related disorders for men are also consistent with stereotypes of men. Thus, being too "female" may predispose a woman for "female" mental disorders.

This places women in a double bind. Double binds exist when there are contradictory demands within the same context. If a woman is too "feminine", she is at risk for developing gender-related mental disorders. However, if she is not feminine enough, she may be labeled as deviant from the social norms of her gender, thereby risking being labeled with a mental disorder.

The variability in estimates of depression in men and women may be due socialization differences. Hammen and Peters (1977) found that depressive behavior in men leads to greater rejection by peers. College students were asked to read descriptions of men and women exhibiting depressive symptoms. Depressed men were rated much more negatively than depressed women. When asked to interact with individuals enacting depression over the telephone, depressed men were more strongly rejected than women. Depressed men were viewed as having feminine traits (Hammen & Peters, 1978). Men are being socialized NOT to exhibit depression.

Further research (Padesky & Hammen, 1981) indicates that men and women exhibit different symptoms. Women are more likely to exhibit affective symptoms of depression (e.g., crying, sadness) while men exhibit physical symptoms (e.g., sleep disturbances, loss of libido). Using subjective scales of depression, men reported that they would have to be much more depressed before they would tell anyone than women.

Other social explanations of depression point to marital roles. Married women consistently report higher levels of depression than married men or single women (Radloff, 1975). This finding argues against the biological causation of depression for women. Specific explanations have focused on the devalued role of a housewife. Women who have multiple roles--career, wife, and mother--are psychologically healthier than homemakers. Employment gives women power and an identity besides a homemaker (as their spouses have).

Power has been associated with levels of psychological distress for both sexes (Horwitz, 1982). Men and women who are employed report fewer physical psychological symptoms than their unemployed counterparts. Unemployed men had more symptoms than any other group. Employed women had fewer symptoms than any other group (Horwitz, 1982).

Many of the effects of depression attributed to sex may actually be due to a social source--powerlessness. Individuals who are young, less educated, have lower incomes,

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unmarried, or unemployed are at high risk for depression regardless of sex. Many of these characteristics are associated with being female. Thus, several social causes have been pinpointed as the source of the difference in rates of depression for men and women (Golding, 1988).

Conclusion

While differences in the rates of depression exist between men and women, contrary to popular biological explanations, the evidence points strongly toward social explanations such as powerlessness. Yet, women continue to receive 71 percent of antidepressant medications. Further, gender socialization may exacerbate the situation by teaching young men to be aggressive and assertive while teaching young women to be nurturing and compromising.

This gender socialization is evident in clinicians' definitions of healthy individuals (Phillips & Gilroy, 1985). When asked to describe a mentally healthy male or female adult, and a mentally healthy adult, there was no difference in the characteristics of a healthy adult and a healthy male adult. However, a healthy female adult had different characteristics. this places women in a double bind. Being a healthy adult is synonymous with being a healthy male NOT a healthy female.

While Dora and Zelda Fitzgerald may appear to be relics, some of the same biases still exist in prescriptions for mentally healthy behavior based upon normative standards which differ for men and women. More dangerously, these differences in the prevalence of mental disorders such as depression are being ascribed to biological causes with virtually no evidence. These explanations create a biological inferiority of women. In addition, these illnesses are being treated with biological means such as medications despite the lack of clear evidence for a biological cause. Thus, women are being given drugs and treatments which are inappropriate while the actual causes for their mental illness remain unaddressed.

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THERMODYNAMIC STABILITY OF A MODEL RNA HAIRPIN WITH AN INTERNAL LOOP

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Introduction

Biomacromolecular RNA serves a broad variety of purposes in cells. RNA is inextricably a part of every step of genetic expression. Messenger RNA (mRNA) is the intermediary carrier of gene data between chromosomal DNA and protein synthesis. Ribosomal RNA is the primary constituent of ribosomes, the cellular organelle that serves as the translation and assembly point of polypeptides during protein synthesis, while the anticodons to the mRNA's codons and the amino acid building blocks of peptides are carried by transfer RNA. Ribozymes are RNA-based cellular catalysts, and small nuclear RNAs (snRNA) have a number of roles in the nuclei of eukaryotic cells. Many functions of RNA are probably yet to be discovered.

The multiple roles of RNA function rely heavily on structure (Tinoco, et al. 1987). For RNA to properly function it must not only have a certain nucleotide sequence, it must also be folded into a distinct three-dimensional shape in order to interact with substrates. RNA structure is considered on three levels (see Figure 1).

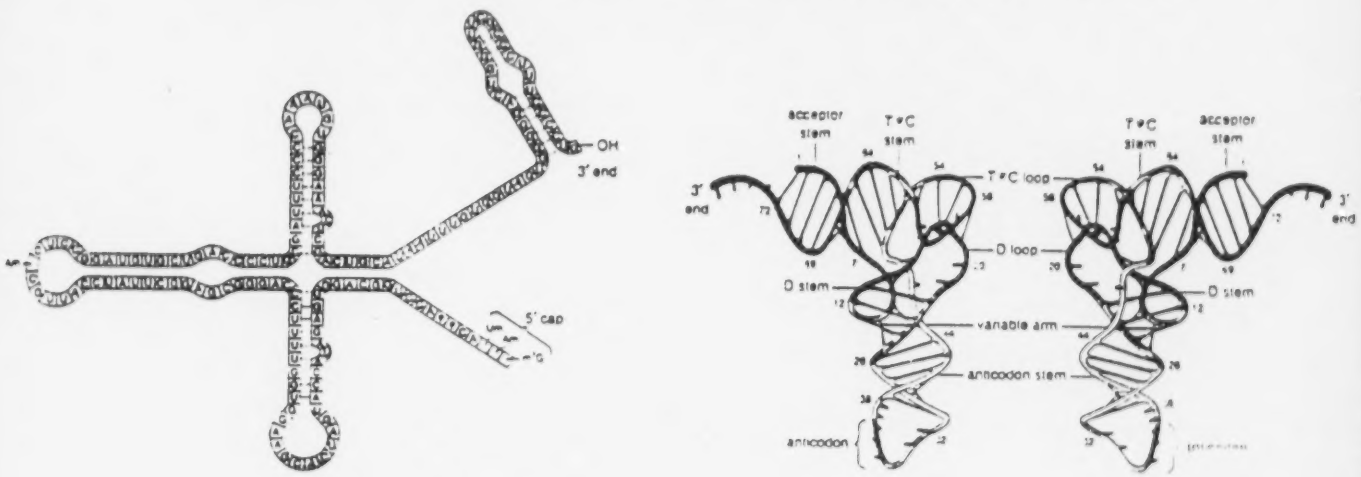

Figure 1. The primary, secondary and tertiary structures of RNA. On the left is the primary sequence structure of a human U1 small nuclear RNA folded into a secondary structure with bulges, loops and hairpins. On the right is the two sides of the three-dimensional tertiary structure of transfer RNA.

Primary structure is the linear sequence of contituent ribonucleotides that comprise the RNA strand. There are four different types of nucleotides in RNA: riboadenosine (A), ribouridine (U), ribocytosine (C), and riboguanine (G). These four nucleotides are capable of pairing (A-U and C-G) to create duplex structures; the resulting base pairs cause the formation of stems and loops, which, viewed in a planar form, are the *secondary structure*. Typically, secondary structure RNA maps like the one shown are predicted on the basis of the most stable structure. The secondary structure again folds to form the three dimensional *tertiary structure*, capable of interacting with proteins or other RNAs, or acting independently, to perform its unique biological function. At this point the tertiary structure is known for only a few RNAs. Further investigation into this

aspect of molecular biology is needed in order to fully understand RNA function in biological systems. Precursory work toward developing tertiary structure will include extensive investigation into secondary structure characteristics.

The focus of this project is the thermodynamic stability of a hairpin found in the secondary structure of the U6 spliceosomal snRNA from the nematode *Caenorhabditis elegans* (Thomas et al. 1990). This structure is characterized by the proposed extancy of an 11-nucleotide external loop, a four-nucleotide internal loop, and two stems, one of two base pairs and one of four (see Figure 2). The research is concentrated on determining the effect that the internal loop has on the overall stability of the hairpin, and the

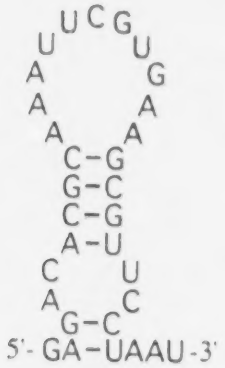

Figure 2

effect of varying nucleotides and sets of nucleotides in the internal loop and closing base pair sequences. Changes in stability can be determined from UV-visible spectrophotometry data (Petersheim & Turner, 1983; Freier, et al., 1986; Groebe & Uhlenbeck, 1989; Puglisi & Tinoco, 1989; SantaLucia et al., 1991; SantaLucia et al., 1992; Serra, et al., 1994). This paper describes work currently underway to develop a model for the effects of varying the conditions under which data is collected, and to verify that the molecule being studied is taking on the desired hairpin shape, in preparation for future work.

The base pairs nucleic acid duplexes are known to separate, or melt, as environmental temperature is increased, and to rehybridize as they cool. Melting is observable by measuring increasing absorbance at 260nm (A_{260}) as the duplexes separate. The absorbance-temperature plot is a sigmoid curve (see figure 3). The inflection of the curve is the point at which fifty percent of the duplexes have separated and is called the melting temperature, or T_M. With appropriate assumptions, thermodynamic parameters for the structure may be determined (ibid).

Materials and Methods

RNA oligomers were produced with T7 bacteriophage RNA polymerase as previously described (Milligan, et al., 1987) using the T7-MEGAshortscript™ *in vitro* Transcription Kit and synthesized T7 promotor DNA with the appropriate DNA strand. The RNA was purified by gel electrophoresis on 20 percent polyacrylamide, 7M urea and quantified by UV absorption at a wavelength of 260nm.

T_M Buffers: Buffers were prepared with 10 mM sodium cacodylate and sodium chloride concentrations varying from 10mM to 1M, and containing 0.5uM RNA. Identical buffers *sans* RNA were used to blank the spectrophotometer prior to T_M runs.

Melting Temperatures: T_Ms were taken in a polished quartz cuvette using a Hewlett-Packard 8452A UV-vis spectrophotometer with a 89090A Peltier temperature control. A_{260} spectra were taken from 25-90°C at 0.2°C increments following 60 second pauses at each increment. The resultant data was plotted into standard melting curves (Figure 3).

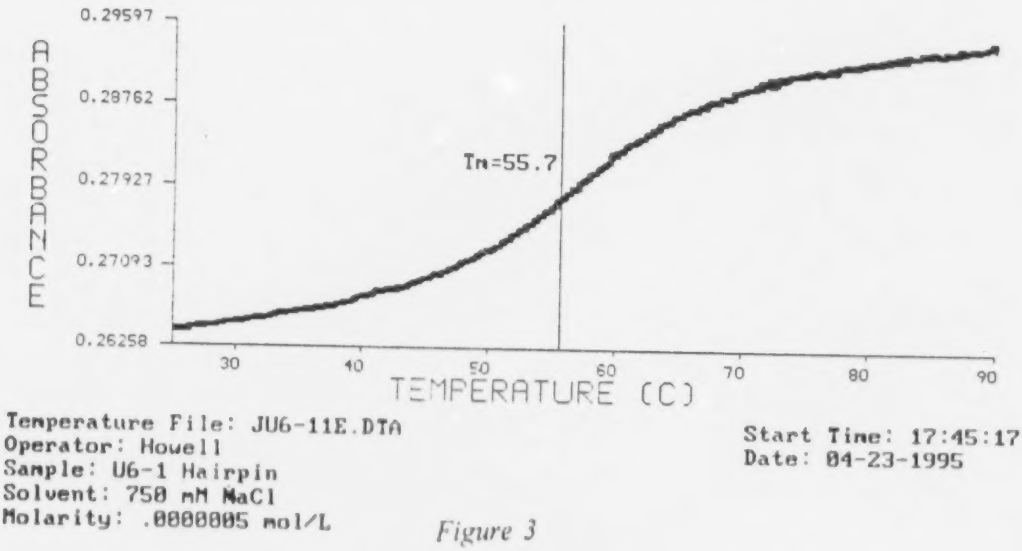

Figure 3

Discussion and Results

Initial investigations are intended to provide a useful model by which the effects on thermodynamic parameters for the hairpin of various salt concentrations in the buffer solutions can be predicted. It has been previously documented that increasing the concentration of salt increases the melting temperature; this can be shown mathematically (Puglisi and Tinoco, 1989). In order to make this determination, this laboratory is currently running multiple T_Ms in sodium chloride concentrations from 10mM to 1M. The data collected to date is supportive of previous findings, with T_Ms at approximately 64-65°C for 1M NaCl, 55-56°C for 750mM NaCl, and 42-43°C for 10mM NaCl. For each concentration, four separate sets of data are being generated, with the extancy of the hairpin being verified by autoradiography of gel electrophoresis after the melting experiments are completed. It is expected that the completion of this experiment will produce melting temperatures invariably in this range.

Future work on this project will be multifaceted. Following completion of the salt studies, further verification to determine that the hairpin is indeed the structure present will be performed by using increased concentrations of RNA to show stability of the melting temperature. Following this work, the project will shift to determining the effect of the internal loop on the thermodynamics of the hairpin. This will include testing on the same hairpin with the internal loop removed as well as with alternate nucleotide sequences in the loop and alternate closing base pairs.

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WRITERS AT RISK: AN EXPERIMENT WITH SUPPLEMENTAL INSTRUCTION IN FRESHMAN WRITING CLASSROOMS

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Review of Literature

Supplemental Instruction has been firmly established as a tool for helping college students succeed in beginning writing courses. Begun in 1974 by Deanna C. Martin at the University of Missouri-Kansas City (Martin, Blanc, and DeBuhr, 1982), the model has been extended to over four hundred institutions of higher learning in the United States. Participation in SI can significantly reduce course failure, improve average course grades, and reduce attrition (Cobb, 1983; Congos, 1993; Martin and Arendale, 1992; Zaritsky, 1994).

The SI model is based on a Piagetian-constructivist theoretical framework. This theory holds that learning is an active process in which learners "construct" their own knowledge, making it an essential part of themselves so they can produce, share, and transform it. SI student leaders or tutors must therefore become "facilitators"—people who help others learn—rather than "tutors" or "teachers" who dispense knowledge (Zaritsky, 1994, p. 1). SI programs have the following characteristics: (1) SI targets *all* students, not only those at risk; (2) tutors must be trained and caring individuals; (3) SI tutors are required to attend classes and complete assignments along with other students; (4) tutors are trained to view themselves as facilitators who model how to perform analysis and synthesis; (5) SI tutors are given an intensive training program; and (6) all students are encouraged to participate in the SI program so as to avoid the stigma associated with traditional tutor programs (pp. 1-2).

Background of the Present Study

Black Hills State University has served as an open enrollment institution; given this fact, relatively high failure and attrition rates in the beginning writing class (English 101) were not surprising. Since 1982, the BHSU English department faculty has observed the factors surrounding the failure and attrition (dropout) rates among freshmen students. In recent years as many as 40 percent of freshmen have not returned for their second year. English faculty have observed an apparently related trend in their written communication classes, as evidenced by absenteeism, poor thinking, writing and reading skills in as many as 25 percent of entering students.

The traditional course of instruction has grouped students heterogeneously, with a range of backgrounds and abilities represented in each section of English 101. Both research and local faculty experience have shown that students do not benefit from being labeled as remedial or developmental writing students and placed in special classrooms. Additionally, our faculty have stressed teaching methodologies that incorporate the concepts of collaborative learning—concepts which utilize techniques such as peer editing, group critiques, and self-analysis (Brufee, 1994). These techniques, along with the more recent introduction of critical thinking models (Brookfield, 1987; Paul, 1994), have tended to work best in heterogeneously grouped classes with a range of competencies represented. At the same time, the disparity between those students who are struggling with the writing task and those who are ready to write at the college level can pose challenges for the instructor. Faculty are often frustrated in directing instruction to the needs of both groups, in classrooms whose size can reach or even exceed 27 students.

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Purpose

In the spring of 1994, the South Dakota Board of Regents expressed an interest in placement and potential remediation of students in required English classes. BHSU English faculty began deliberating how to address the particular classroom arrangement with minimal disruption and within the time and budgetary constraints imposed on the department. As an outcome of these deliberations it was decided to respond to the BOR mandate by implementing a pilot program of Supplemental Instruction (SI) during the fall 1994 semester. The purpose of the study was to determine whether the general findings of the research literature could be validated in beginning college writing classrooms. Specific questions included: What effect did SI have on student writing, course grades, failure, and attrition?

Procedure

Of the 16 English 101 sections, 5 experimental sections were selected to participate in the pilot program, together with 5 control sections taught by the same instructors. Tutors regularly attended an assigned section of English 101 and participated in class activities within boundaries established by each instructor. In addition, tutors met with students from their assigned class at the Academic Skills Center. A series of training sessions for tutors, conducted by English faculty, was held on a regular basis during the semester. Topics included: holistic scoring, revision, oral reading techniques, and sharing and responding methods.

To measure the effectiveness of the program, a diagnostic essay (EDE) was administered to 400 of 429 English 101 students, based on a common essay prompt and scored holistically by the entire English faculty. The prompt and resulting student essays were not subsequently discussed in class. The same diagnostic essay was administered at the end of the semester, making possible a comparison between scores in experimental, control, and remaining (non-participating) sections. Questionnaires were also given to participating students to obtain further data on the SI program.

Results

Demographic information on English 101 students was examined for correlations between the first and second EDE score, ACT-English scores, and percentile high school class rank. These correlations did not indicate a discernible relationship between the EDE and other measures of student achievement. The literature suggested a higher degree of correlation is possible using the grade students received in the course. However, these data also did not present a significant correlation between the EDE scores and the grade students received in English 101 (0.24 and 0.41, respectively). Therefore, these demographic data were not necessarily reliable predictors of success in English 101, as measured by grades in the course. In addition, these demographic data offered limited insight into the potential effectiveness of the SI program.

Despite such limitations, the data did validate the finding that SI can help students improve writing skills, raise grades, reduce failure, and lower attrition. A significant

difference in the improvement in EDE scores appeared between the experimental sections (those with tutors), the control sections (those without tutors taught by the same instructors), and the remaining sections (those without tutors and with non-SI participating instructors). The increases in scores were 15.7 percent (experimental) and 14.0 percent (control). Non-participating sections had a decrease in scores of 4.3 percent. Course grades were also significantly different in experimental (2.6/4.0), control (2.5/4.0) and non-participating (2.0/4.0) sections. The failure rates in experimental, control, and non-participating sections were 13.8 percent, 16.0 percent, and 21.0 percent respectively. Moreover, the attrition rate (those students dropping the course without taking a grade of F) was significantly different between experimental (6.1 percent), control (6.9 percent), and non-participating (9.3 percent) sections.

During the semester, tutors reported that students in experimental sections had better access to a tutor and felt less hesitant about asking her/him for assistance than students enrolled in other sections. These reports were confirmed through survey instruments completed by students at semester end. Some instructors mandated minimum meetings between students and tutors. Other faculty used tutors to work with individuals and/or groups with specific writing problems. These intensive interventions appeared to have a positive effect on student attitudes, attendance, and performance. Collateral benefits of the SI program included: enhanced opportunities for faculty-tutor collaboration; experimentation with classroom teaching approaches; talking about writing among faculty and students; and enhanced teamwork between faculty.

Limitations of the Study

(1) A cross-validation test was performed, using a selected sample of EDE essays, comparing the scorings with those previously performed on the same sampling. The correlation on the earlier EDE was 0.31 and the later EDE was 0.70. While these correlations were within the parameters suggested by the literature, they were nevertheless lower than was hoped. (2) The later scoring of the EDE was performed under conditions where raters knew they were looking at essays written at the end of the semester. It would have been preferable to have scored all essays, earlier and later, at the same time without identifying them as such. (3) All students had access to tutors at the Academic Skills Center, whether or not students were enrolled in SI sections. It is assumed that in these cases, tutors were functioning more in a traditional tutor-student relationship than as SI leaders. (4) Sections designated as control sections, taught by the same instructors as experimental sections, could involve possible contamination of data through the intervening variable of instruction. Instructors using tutors in their experimental sections could carry attitudes and approaches into their control sections. (5) The distinction between control and non-participating sections may have been blurred. While it was intended that the variable of SI tutoring could be isolated using paired experimental and control sections with the same instructors, the non-participating sections share all the characteristics of the control sections with the exception of instructor. (6) Under the conditions imposed by the South Dakota Board of Regents, the study had to be completed within a year of its inception. More reliable data, it is assumed, could have been obtained over a longer period of time.

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Summary

The study validated the research literature findings that supplemental instruction can significantly improve student performance. SI helped students improve their writing skills, as measured by the EDE, in freshman writing courses. Students enrolled in SI sections had significantly higher improvements in EDE scores, significantly higher grades, significantly lower failure, and significantly lower attrition. It was concluded that SI can be an important tool in helping students succeed in beginning college writing courses.

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METHODS IN ESTIMATING VFR EXPENDITURES

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Introduction

Economic impact studies are performed for a variety of reasons and uses. Directors of state travel offices, area regional travel organizations, and city/county convention and visitor bureaus have traditionally used these studies to assess the economic impact in form of expenditures, payroll income, jobs, and taxes. It is very important to have accurate and reliable estimates of economic impacts which have the confidence of its users (Fleming & Toepper, 1990).

With tourism becoming a regional economic development tool (Liu, Sheldon, & Var, 1987), and the fact that nearly 50 percent of the tourists develop their vacations around visiting friends or relatives (Fesenmaier, 1994; Shoemaker, 1994; Uysal & McDonald, 1989), it seems imperative to have a better understanding of the impact visiting friends and relatives (VFR) has on a community. To date, all economic impact studies have virtually ignored the VFR market. Economic impacts of visitors staying in homes of friends and relatives is difficult to evaluate because few details on their structures and input data have been published (Frechtling, 1994). Thus, the purpose of this study was to develop a VFR economic impact model then assess the economic impact of visitors staying in the homes of friends and relatives in the Minneapolis/St. Paul standard metropolitan area.

Methodology

A VFR impact model was developed to analyze the economic impact on a community of those who visit friends and relatives. The linear model proposes that the VFR impact can be calculated for a given community using the following equation.

VFRI = HSA X HV X VPH X AE

Where:

VFRI	=	The economic impact of visits by friends and relatives
HSA	=	The number of households in the study area
HV	=	The percent of households who receive visitors in a given time period
VPH	=	Visitors per household
AE	=	The average expenditure per visitor group

The number of households in a study area not only provides a means to measure the number of potential visitors, but also may be generally indicative of the opportunities for shopping and entertainment. By multiplying the number of households by the percentage of households that receive visitors, the number of representative sample can be used to estimate the total economic impact of the VFR market.

The community chosen for this study was the Minneapolis/St. Paul standard metropolitan area (SMA) because it is viewed as an area which reflects the diversity of metropolitan areas around the United States. By using an accepted test market for the VFR study, the information gained could be used as a model for economic impact of VFR for standard metropolitan areas around the country.

A snowball sampling method was utilized to collect the data from 50 households in the Minneapolis/St. Paul standard metropolitan area. The snowball method gathers the subjects as it rolls along (Emory & Cooper, 1991) and was viewed as the most effective way to obtain participants for the study. The sampling began with five individuals known by this researcher or recommended to this researcher. Each time a host family agreed to participate in the study, additional family names were identified by the host who were, in turn, called by telephone and asked to participate. When a respondent agreed to be a participant in the study, the researcher either visited the household or mailed the packet which explained the process in more detail. The packet included a diary, an expenditure "cheat sheet" to carry in a wallet, scotch tape to secure the information from curious on-lookers, and directions on how to complete the study.

The diary consisted of two pages for each visiting group. The first page explained the study to the participants and asked questions regarding their trip (i.e., length of stay, purpose, transportation, number in group, residence, and willingness to come if the host was not able to be the host). The second page was the summary page where the visitor recorded the total of all expenditures for each category. The expenditure variables were similar to those suggested by Johnson and Moore (1993) and included the following: shopping (non-food items), snack items and grocery foods, restaurants and taverns, admissions and entertainment, gas/repair and maintenance (purchased in Mlps./St. Paul), transportation (taxi, bus, etc), licenses and permits, guide services, rentals, equipment, and other. The host was instructed to ask their guest to either complete the diary themselves or to report to the host so the host could complete the diary. The diary remained with the host participant for the six-month study.

Reminder postcards were sent to all 50 host families on a monthly basis. The objective of the post card was to simply remind the host family to include all their visitors in the study.

The host participants returned the completed diary by mail at the end of the six-month data collection period. After preliminary analysis of the data, an informal reception was provided by the researcher for all host families.

Analysis of the data includes a host and guest description, an average of each separate expenditure variable along with the total average expenditure per visiting group, and a t-test analysis of the expenditure variables by "if you could not stay with family/friends on this visit, would you still have come?" Finally, an estimate of visitors to the metropolitan area and a total impact of VFR to the Minneapolis/St. Paul area was determined form the available data.

Results

During the six-month study period, April 1 through September 30, 1994, 41 households or 84 percent responded to the study. One household withdrew after 2 months while 8 households did not report information for the study. Of the 41 participating households, 12 (29 percent) reported no guests for 6 months, indicating a 71 percent visitation rate to households in the study. There were 118 groups of guests for 29 hosts averaging 4 groups of visitors per household in 6 months. This average number is larger due to 4 families which hosted 8, 10, and 13 visitors respectively. When these outliers were removed, the average number of visitor groups per household dropped from

4 to 2.1 per host.

The Host. The hosts for the study typically consisted of a married couple with two children living at home. The average annual household income was $60,000 to $80,000. The hosts were well educated with 94 percent holding either a bachelors or graduate degree. The hosts have lived in Minnesota for over 10 years.

The Guest. On the average, the guests to the Minneapolis/St. Paul area came in parties of 2, stayed for 3 days, came by automobile, and were there to visit family and friends as the main reason for the visit. The guests represented 28 states, 2 Canadian provinces, and 4 other foreign counties. The majority of the guests came from Minnesota (21 percent), North Dakota (19 percent), Iowa (10 percent), California (6 percent), and Texas (5 percent). The longest length of stay by any one guest was 21 days, however, 75 percent of all guests stayed 3 days or fewer. Although 58.5 percent of the guests indicated that visiting friends and relatives was the main purpose of the trip only 46.6 percent stated they would not have come if the host was not available to them.

TABLE 1
GUEST DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Variable	Value	N	%	Mean	Mode
Number of people in travel party					
	1	37	31%		
	2	48	41		
	3	11	9	2.25	2
	4	12	10		
	5	9	8		
	7	1	1		
		N	%		Mode
Number of days staying with host					
	1	32	27%		
	2	32	27		
	3	24	20		
	4	8	7		
	5	3	2		
	6	3	2	3.3	2
	7	7	6		
	8	2	2		
	9	1	1		
	10	3	2		
	13	1	1		
	18	1	1		
	21	1	1		
		N	%		Mode
How arrived in Mlps./St. Paul					
	Plane	39	33%		
	Auto	74	63		Auto
	Bus	3	3		
	Train	2	2		
		N	%		Mode
Purpose of trip					
	Business/conv.	19	16%		
	Pleasure/rec.	11	9		
	VFR	69	58		VFR
	Special events	15	13		
	Medical	4	3		
		N	%		Mode
Would you still visit without this host?	Yes	63	53%		
	No	55	47		Yes

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Table 2 provides the VFR expenditures in categories ranging from zero to over $2,000. There were 5 visitors in this study who indicated zero expenditures during their stay in the area. Shopping for non-food items was the highest expenditure and accounted for 42 percent of all spending. This was followed by expenditures at restaurants and taverns which accounted for 17 percent of the total spending pattern. Equipment purchases provided the highest expenditure by any one person in the study. In this case the high equipment outlay was spent on computers and software. The "other" category included incidentals such as haircuts, duplicating costs, church offerings, and medical expenses.

TABLE 2
VFR EXPENDITURES BY CATEGORY

	Mean	Median	Range	% of TOTAL $
Shopping (non-food)	96.93	30.00	$0-$1,300	42%
Snacks & groceries	18.28	5.00	$0-$346	8
Restaurants/taverns	39.32	25.00	$0-$322	17
Admissions/entertain	13.92	0.00	$0-$140	6
Gas/auto repair	12.64	10.00	$0-$80	5
Taxi/bus/train	6.46	0.00	$0-$300	3
licenses/permits	.47	0.00	$0-$9	0
Guide services	0.00	0.00	$0	0
Rentals	12.80	0.00	$0-658	6
Equipment	19.33	0.00	$0-$2,017	8
Other	11.28	0.00	$0-500	5
Total	231.29	109.50	$0-$2,052	100%
TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR SIX MONTHS				$27,292

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The total expenditure for 6 months in the Minneapolis/St. Paul standard metropolitan area was $27,292. The average per visiting group was $231.

Table 3 delineates the response to 1 question answered by the visitor. "If you could not stay with family/friends on this visit, would you still have come?" Only 2 of the 10 categories showed significant differences in expenditures in whether or not the visitor would still come to the area. Expenditures on admissions/entertainment were higher for those who said they still would have come to the Minneapolis/St. Paul area even if they could not stay with friends or relatives. On the other hand, expenditures on equipment were higher for those who would not have come to the area if they could not stay with friends or relatives.

TABLE 3

T-TESTS OF EXPENDITURE
VS
WOULD YOU HAVE VISITED WITHOUT HOST FAMILY HERE

	Means			
Variables	Yes	No	t	p
Shopping (non-food)	98.05	95.65	.07	.969
Snacks & groceries	17.40	19.31	-.24	.790
Restaurants/taverns	38.32	40.47	-.23	.561
Admissions/entertain	16.75	10.70	1.22	.026*
Gas/auto repair	11.90	13.50	-.57	.296
Taxi/bus/train	8.51	4.11	.73	.167
licenses/permits	.43	.51	-.15	.723
Rentals	7.03	19.40	-.92	.071
Equipment	.00	41.47	-1.20	.017*
Other	8.86	14.10	-.44	.413
Total	206.92	259.20	-.87	.133

* significant at the .05 level

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Although not significantly different, visitors who would not have come to the area without a host family to stay with (potential non-visitors), spent more than the other visitors in 6 out of the 10 categories. The average expenditure for those potential non-visitors was $259 compared to the $207 average spent by visitors who would have come whether or not they could stay with friends or relatives.

VFR Economic Impact Model

The VFR economic impact model for the Minneapolis/St. Paul standard metropolitan area (SMA) was used to analyze economic input in the Mlps./St. Paul SMA. The data was collected April through September as the summer months generally prove to be the high visitation months. In the case of Minneapolis/St. Paul, the 1990 census (Population, 1990) reported 880,324 households in the SMA. Based on the Minneapolis/St. Paul VFR market from the sample study, the economic impact for 6 months is:

VFRI = HSA X HV X VPH X AE
VFRI = 880,324 x .71 x 2.1 x $231
VFRI Mlps St. Paul = $30,320,200

The economic impact of over 1 million VFR visitors on the Minneapolis/St. Paul area could exceed $30 million dollars in a six-month time period.

A note of caution on projecting this sample to the entire population is needed. Although the sample did provide representation from all socio-economic groups, the census and sample were not parallel in percentages across each income level.

The snowball sample represented host families with an average income over $60,000. The 1990 census average income for the Mlps./St. Paul area was nearly $47,000. Because the sample is more representative of households over the $50,000 income level, it is perhaps more accurate to describe the economic impact of visitors who stayed with families whose income was over $50,000. When this occurs, 319,980 households become the target population (Population, 1990). Using this number for projecting impact of the socio-economic group represented in the study, the impact would be:

VFRI = HSA X HV X VPH X AE
VFRI = 319,980 x .71 x 2.1 x $231
VFRI Mlps St. Paul = $11,020,703

The economic impact of over $470,000 VFR visitors to families of incomes over $50,000 per year on the Minneapolis/St. Paul area exceeds $11 million dollars in a six-month time period

If indeed the Minneapolis/St. Paul MSA is similar to other MSA's around the country as implied by Lamb, Hair, & McDaniel (1993), then the same numbers could be applied to the equation for all metropolitan areas. The only substitution would be the census information for that particular MSA.

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Implications and Discussion

Overall, the method was successful and provided accurate information about VFR expenditures. It is believed that the high response rate was due to the advantage of the snowball sampling method. Not a single person refused to participate in the study.

A follow-up discussion with the host families upon completion of the study indicated that they felt comfortable asking their guests to complete the diary and the guests found the diary easy to use. The "cheat sheet" carried in the guests' wallet provided a reminder to continually record their expenditures and was used by a majority of the guests. Only one host, a single male, dropped out of the study saying he was uncomfortable asking his guests to participate. One host family forgot to ask one of the visitors and another visitor refused to participate.

An interesting finding of the VFR market indicated the majority of the visitors lived within the tri-state region of the MSA (Minnesota, North Dakota, and Iowa). If the state of Minnesota was interested in the VFR economic impact from outside dollars, then Minnesota residents would have to be excluded from the analysis. In this study, 21 percent of the VFR market were Minnesota residents. The impact to the state would need to be reduced by this 21 percent.

In the six-month study period, 29 families hosted 118 visitors who spent a total of $27,292. When estimated to the population of the SMA with the same socio-economic background, the VFR impact was over $11 million. This sizeable impact on the local economy has virtually been ignored throughout the history of travel and tourism. It only seems logical that shopping and entertainment centers in the Mlps/St. Paul area should market to this VFR group. As seen in this study, the highest percent of visitors came from within the tri-state area and therefore would be relatively easy to reach. The marketing opportunities to the VFR market are unlimited, and to date, untapped.

The question which asked the visitor whether or not they would have come if they could not stay with family and friends revealed some surprising results. It was assumed that all visitors whose main purpose was to visit family and friends would not come otherwise. In contrast, 11 percent of those who came for the purpose of VFR still said they would have come to the area. Perhaps these visitors did not understand the question. It should be re-stated to ask, would you have paid for accommodations in a motel/hotel if staying in a private home was unavailable to you on this trip?

Finally, smaller communities around the country would not be able to take the figures in the equation for an economic impact. It would be imperative for these communities to conduct a host survey like this one to determine the expenditures in each category.

Recommendations

It has been shown that the methodology of snowball sampling can be used to determine the economic impact of the VFR market. The methodology demonstrates the power of using a familiar name to gain acceptance and credibility for participation in the study.

In future studies it is recommended that wider range of income levels for the host families be used to assure generalizability within the MSA. In this study the average host

income was nearly $13,000 more than the average income in the census, and therefore only the higher income households were used to estimate the VFR impact upon the MSA.

It is also recommended that a similar study be conducted over a year time-span in order to evaluate the economic impact for an entire year with confidence. Collecting information for a year may pose a problem as hosts tend to forget or be less careful about their involvement. Constant monthly reminders would be a necessity to assure continual data collection.

A simple research question which needs to be answered is, "What is the difference in number of guests and expenditures across income levels of the host?" Common sense would dictate that lower income households have few, if any, guests. If found to be true, another variable in the model would automatically eliminate all households below a certain income level in the analysis.

Finally, this study should be replicated for smaller communities to be used as the average expenditures for similar size communities. However, to generalize to other small communities, location, and opportunities available in the community need to be taken into account and viewed as similar among the communities before generalization can occur.

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GAMBLING IN DEADWOOD, SOUTH DAKOTA: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

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I have fallen in love with American names,
The sharp names that never get fat,
The snakeskin-titles of mining-claims,
The plumed war-bonnet of Medicine Hat,
Tucson and Deadwood and Lost Mule Flat.

--Stephen Vincent Benét

Introduction

Deadwood, South Dakota has been transformed from a struggling western town into a casino destination which relies on its vivid history to attract tourists, benefiting from its proximity to Mount Rushmore National Memorial, a major magnet attracting visitors to the Black Hills. The town where both Wild Bill Hickok and Calamity Jane are buried continues to be altered inexorably, with multiple proposed changes about to continue the transformation.

A marked change occurred in 1989 with the advent of casino gambling in Deadwood as the result of a statewide referendum. It was decided not to alter the appearance of Deadwood from the existing smorgasbord of architectural styles, but to emphasize its history with the restoration of buildings, the addition of old fashioned street lamps, and brick paving, all conforming to the overall theme. A four-lane highway has been completed from I-90 south to Deadwood, the Gulches of Fun amusement park has opened, and the $100 million Dunbar Resort is under construction. The establishment of gambling in many other states and Canada is making it imperative to improve existing facilities and offer more inducements for potential visitors to Deadwood.

Have the ghosts of Wild Bill, Calamity Jane, and other larger than life characters been exorcised or do the people of Deadwood really want that to occur? Exaggeration of persons and their exploits contributes to the spirit of romanticism that sets Deadwood apart from competing centers. Such an attitude may help with the survival of one former mining town in the northern segment of the Black Hills of South Dakota (Figure 1).

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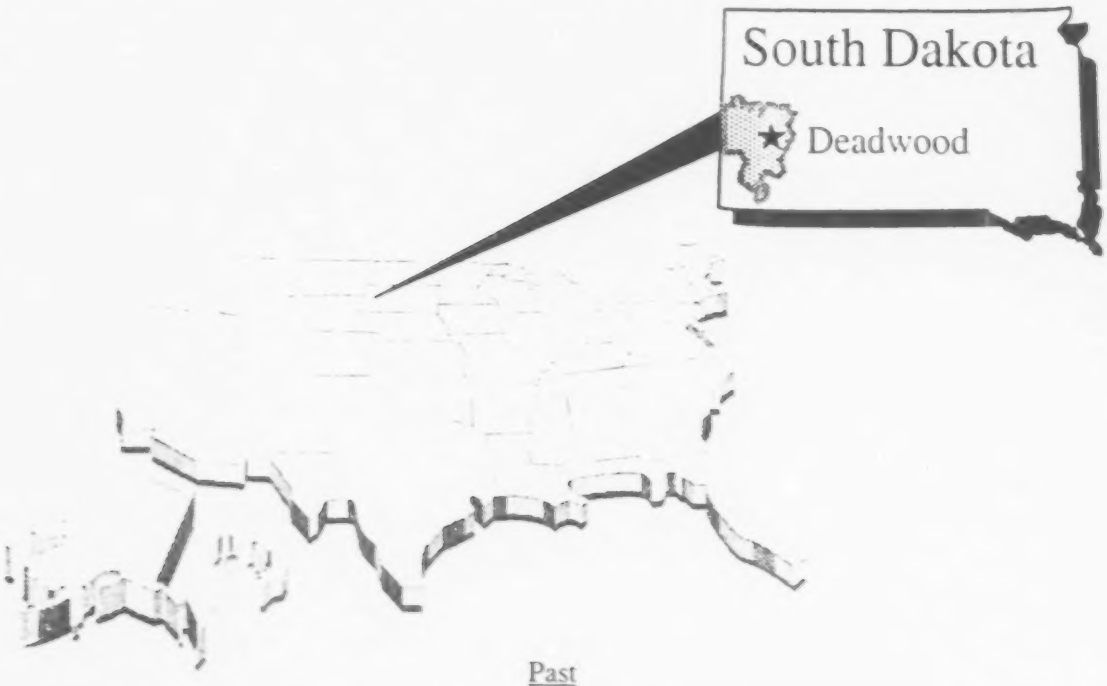
Figure 1: *Location of Deadwood*



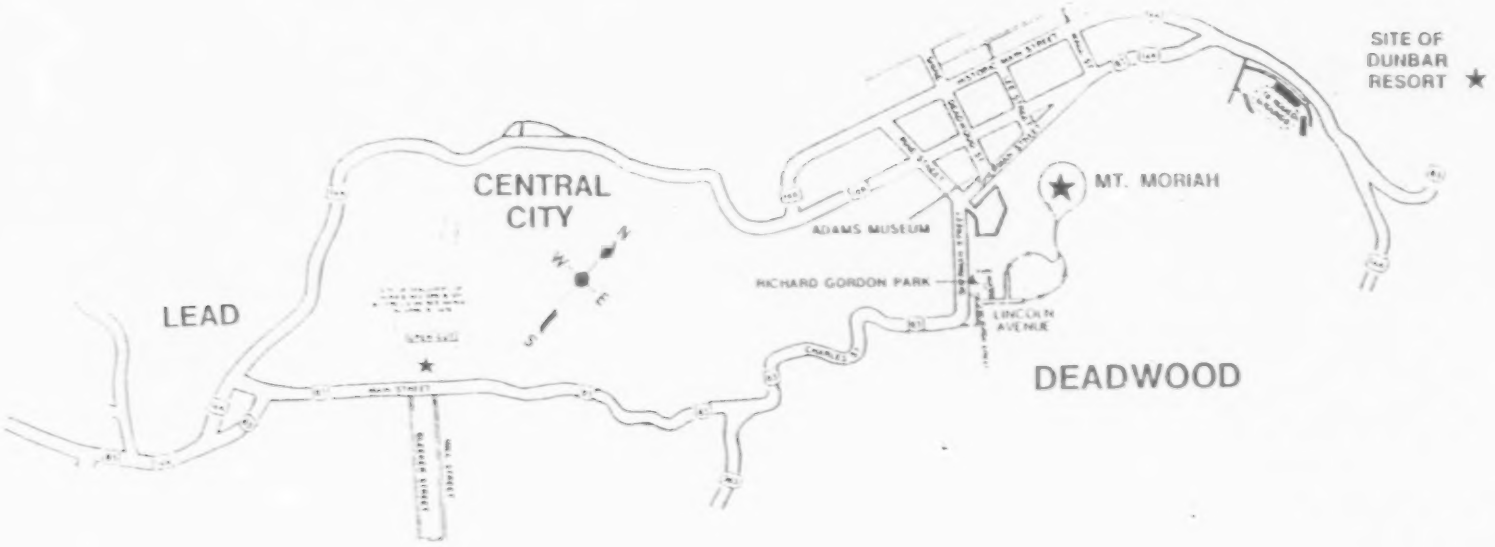
Past

Deadwood was founded and located in a narrow gulch at an altitude of 4533' on the banks of the Whitewood Creek, owing its existence to one solitary factor, the discovery of gold!

Whilst he was not the first white man to wander into the Black Hills, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer was the initial individual to achieve notoriety, even if not of his own choosing at the later Battle of the Little Big Horn. Custer and the Seventh Cavalry marched through the region in order to establish a military outpost. In the process the commander was responsible for an official dispatch on August 2, 1874 which inadvertently led to a gold rush into the Black Hills of the Dakota Territory (Jackson 1972). Unfortunately, for the original Native American inhabitants, the Treaty of 1868 ceding the Hills to the Sioux Indians as they were then called, was all but ignored.

Clowser (1969) reported that there were 20 prospectors in Deadwood Gulch (named after piles of dead timber lying on the ground) in the winter of 1875 and early 1876. How quickly the news spread is illustrated by the 1875 Rand McNally map of the Northern Hills which listed a total of 125 quartz lode claims near Deadwood (Watson 1981). Plans were drawn for a town on April 26, 1876 (Comprehensive 1991) and the existing camp became a town as the result of an election on September 5, 1876 (Yuill, 1968). Estimates for the population of the newly established town range from 3 to 10,000 in the first year according to Yuill (1968), to a more conservative figure of 5,000 in the summer of 1876 (Comprehensive, 1991). It is worth reporting that the nearby mining town of Lead further up the gulch, some three miles to the southwest, had double that number (Figure 2).

Figure 2: *Map of Deadwood (Courtesy of City of Deadwood 1988).*



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Chinese Influence

Originally brought to the United States as laborers for various enterprises such as the railroads, many Chinese ended up in mining camps throughout the expanding country. Lee (1976) points out that the northern entrance to Deadwood was the narrowest part of the gulch, and soon became the Chinese section. "Chinatown was built on lower Main Street, below the Badlands and housed the largest Chinese population in any town the size of Deadwood outside of China" (Comprehensive 1991).

Although the majority were probably gone by 1890, Sulentic (1975) states that the Chinese began to leave between 1915 and 1920, with the last man gone in 1932.

Characters

The very makeup of this hastily erected town with no planning and the only common thread being the lure and greed associated with gold, resulted in a shaky community to say the least. Deadwood had little law and order at first and disagreements were generally settled via the business end of a revolver or other weapon. Parker (1981) refers to 97 violent deaths occurring in the gold rush years of 1876-9, making Deadwood a violent town indeed. Not only solid citizens were attracted to the gulch, and many half-hearted attempts at gold prospecting soon saw some turning to the lure of stealing easy money from sometimes lax miners. Gambling and other forms of entertainment became prevalent in the saloons and theaters which sprung up.

Most prominent of the numerous characters who found themselves in Deadwood was Wild Bill Hickok, former marshall of Abilene in Kansas. Wild Bill is thought to have killed over 20 men in his lifetime and no doubt made many enemies before he arrived in the Hills in 1876. Hickok's greatest claim to fame resulted from an act of which he was never aware, when a drifter called Jack McCall shot him in the back of the head while he played cards in the Saloon No. 10. On a lighter side the historian Mildred Fiedler (1965) states that Wild Bill's death date and the fact that he was alive are known but, most of the rest of the legend is speculative.

Second to Wild Bill was Calamity Jane Canary, a very rough but competent woman who achieved much notoriety as a scout, gambler, prostitute, and excellent shot. Evidence indicates she hardly knew her hero, but a desire to be buried beside him did eventuate and the two of them are found in the most visited plots in the Mount Moriah Cemetery.

Poker Alice Tubbs, Preacher Smith, Potato Creek Johnny Perrett, Colorado Charlie Utter, and Deadwood Dick are probably next in line of interest, but the following list of characters is quite mind boggling: "Swill Barrel Jimmy, Johnny-Behind-the-Deuce, the Grasshopper, Pancake Bill, Mysterious Jimmy, Bedrock Tom, Happy George, Johnny the Oyster, Club Foot Frank, Cheaty Sheely, Laughing Sam, Bloody Dick, and the Bottle Fiend" (Parker, 1981).

A fitting description of Deadwood was for a town which came to "epitomize in the public mind the bold, bad, wild, and prosperous mineral frontier" (Parker, 1981).

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Present

Tourism

Tourism received an early boost courtesy of the arrival of the Fremont, Elkhorn, and Missouri Valley Railroad in 1890 allowing visitors to reach Mount Moriah and the numerous amusement places (Lee, 1976). In 1893 a Burlington Railroad connection to Spearfish through the scenic Spearfish Canyon only added to the attraction of the northern hills (Lee, 1976). Two world wars curtailed enthusiasm for tourism, but classifying the whole town of Deadwood as a National Historic Landmark in 1961 was a forerunner of better things to come.

Visitor numbers in Deadwood have increased dramatically from 1989 with estimates as high as four to five times the previous numbers (Comprehensive, 1991). The number one attraction in the Black Hills and in the state of South Dakota is the Mount Rushmore National Memorial, where attendance reached 2,755,394 for 1994 according to Park Ranger Mark Danson (telephone interview, 23 January 1995). Tourists have indicated that after their main goal of the "magnetic triangle" of Mount Rushmore, Custer State Park and Badlands National Park, gambling and interest in historic Deadwood were natural extensions to their visit (Comprehensive, 1991).

Gambling

Parker (1981) indicates that gambling supposedly closed down soon after 1904 and Nickerson (1995) refers to 1947 as the actual time that the activity was outlawed, but technically speaking gambling was illegal in Deadwood from statehood on in 1889. It was to be 42 years before the practice became legal in Deadwood as the result of a statewide election held in 1988. Fourteen gaming establishments opened their doors on November 1, 1989 and 85 existed by the end of November 1994 (South Dakota Gaming, November 1994).

Prior to 1989, much employment in the town was seasonal but the Deadwood Progress Report (1994) states that 1,503 people now work in gaming-related industries. Even though a comprehensive plan was not drawn up: "Deadwood did, however, realize that the primary reason that gaming was legalized was to preserve historic Deadwood, a resource which the voters of the entire state of South Dakota clearly felt very strongly" (Comprehensive, 1991).

The South Dakota Commission on Gaming reported that the total gross gaming action from its inception in November of 1989 to November of 1994 was nearly 2 $billion dollars, with gaming tax reaching $15,294,000 (November, 1994). Property values jumped from $26 million to about $91 million, with $24 million in historic preservation and community projects being undertaken by the city. (Deadwood gaming turns five, Rapid City Journal, November 1, 1994).

Historic Preservation

"The Deadwood you see today began with a deteriorating town and a group of

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people determined to keep that historic old west town alive. What followed was one of the most effective preservation and economic development efforts this state has seen" (Progress Report 1994).

Some buildings gained fame from the illicit activities which took place within their confines, such as the Gem Theater, the Bella Union (first theater in town), the Bodega, and the Green Front, all associated to some degree with gambling and prostitution. Even as late as 1979, a headline in the Deadwood Pioneer-Times on August 6th read: "Four Brothels Thrive in Downtown Deadwood" (Rezatto, 1980), and illegal prostitution did remain until 1981.

The City of Deadwood undertook a Comprehensive Historic Preservation Plan which was published in 1991, and it has since turned an old railroad depot (Elkhorn) into an interpretive center, and redeveloped Main and Sherman streets by the use of brick paving, as the roads appeared in 1907, together with replicas of the original electric street lights. Several new parking lots have been constructed and a shuttle system using green trolley buses has been implemented. Early twentieth century is the theme for the street changes although the overall preservation efforts are aimed at the years 1880 to 1940. Mark Wolfe, Deadwood City Planner and Historic Preservation Officer (telephone interview, 23 January 1995) said that over 100 downtown projects had received some level of historic preservation.

Millions of dollars have been spent on restoration by the private sector, including both interiors and exteriors of various buildings. For example, Kevin and Dan Costner purchased the two-story Phoenix Building in October 1990 in order to transform it to a gaming house (Manning, 1994). At Dan's request, architect Sam Tolman, a member of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, added another floor to the existing structure because there had been a third level on the original building. The Midnight Star (named after a saloon in Kevin's 1985 film *Silverado*) opened its doors in October 1991, scarcely one year after the building was purchased.

On the other side of the ledger, work and color schemes which are inappropriate to the selected theme, together with the loss of a historic stable and the use of loudspeakers and barkers, have negatively impacted historic preservation (Comprehensive, 1991). Many of the signs used are tastefully portrayed on timber backgrounds but some could be considered garish in their appearance.

Careful research before restoration is carried out is considered essential, because: "From a preservationist's standpoint, Deadwood represents a living historic environment, a repository of cultural artifacts, and an above-ground archaeological site" (Comprehensive, 1991).

Future

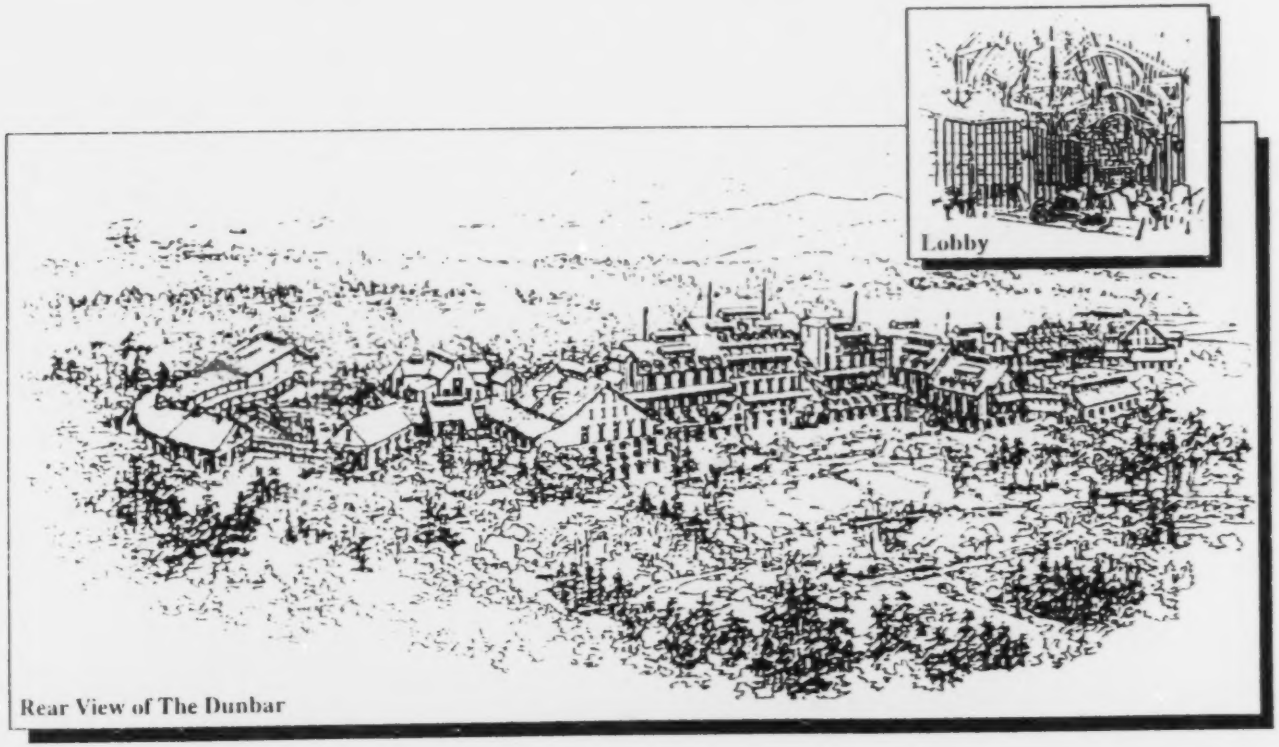
Competition from other states and Canada means that Deadwood will have to keep progressing and offering a saleable product, whether it be of a gambling and/or of a historic nature. The atmosphere already exists and the physical landscape ensures a varied experience for the tourist. Even though a number of early buildings/landmarks have been partially or fully restored, there are many more to tackle.

One recommendation made in the Comprehensive Historic Preservation Plan (1991) was to ensure that missing buildings, such as once existed in the lower downtown

section known as the Badlands, have signs to acknowledge their former locations. Also the Plan emphasized that: "The creation of a gaudy, circus-like atmosphere is not desired, nor is the creation of an overly-sophisticated Victorian environment. These extremes should be avoided, otherwise the historic integrity of Deadwood will be threatened." Since no trees were found on Main Street in the past, none will be planted.

A special South Dakota election was held in September of 1993 in order to allow Deadwood gaming to raise bet limits from $5 to $100 but the measure was defeated, mainly on an east-west split of the state, causing much resentment in the Black Hills region to the west. At the time, it was reported that the planned Dunbar Resort would be cancelled because of the rejected higher bet limits, but it has since been resurrected as a $100 million enterprise, with the ground work currently being undertaken at the north-eastern entrance to Deadwood (Deadwood Hill) on U.S. Highway 85. Traditional turn-of-the-century architecture and a connecting standard-gauge railroad are intended to assimilate this complex into the overall plan for the town (Figure 3).

Figure 3: *Rear View of the Proposed Dunbar Conference and Golf Resort* (Courtesy of The Dunbar Inc.).



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Many of the houses in the community are dilapidated and neighborhoods are in dire need of restoration, particularly sidewalks, streets, lighting, and fire protection. This situation is exacerbated by the steep hillsides which have constricted building within the valley. Demand has outstripped supply, housing prices have risen substantially, forcing an estimated 75 percent of local employees to reside outside of Deadwood (Progress Report, 1994). With the lack of parking continuing to be a problem, one or more parking garages are high priority items, as are expanded recreational facilities for the city.

Deadwood's growth rate has slowed and the gaming industry has stabilized according to Thomas Fahey, Executive Director of the South Dakota Gaming Commission (Progress Report, 1994). Historic preservation is alive and well in Deadwood, a community that does not simply rely on gaming for its success, for this former mining casualty can be raised up as a prime example of urban renewal in action!

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HOW TO IMPROVE TIME-ON-TASK WITH STUDENTS WHO ARE AT-RISK

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Children and youth who are at-risk are assigned a multitude of labels, most of them unfriendly. They are described as aggressive or anxious, as attention-disordered or affectionless, and unmotivated or unteachable (Brendtro, et. al, 1990). For years it has been the belief that children who are at-risk are unteachable. At best, schools can provide an environment that is structured, safe, and has the ability to maintain the student. Maintenance being the key until the student is beyond the compulsory school attendance age. Then the student can leave the system and become someone else's problem. That someone else is usually assigned through court services. The student would become adjudicated.

Over the years, there have been various attempts to show a causal relationship between learning disabilities and youth who are adjudicated. A significant proportion of youth who are adjudicated are identified as learning disabled (Mauser, 1974). It is also well established that there is a high correlation between learning disabilities and school failure and a high correlation between school failure and adjudication (Mauser, 1974). The typical youth who is adjudicated is often three to five years behind grade placement (Poremba, 1975).

Research describing the quality of teacher-to-student interactions demonstrates that those interactions are overwhelmingly negative in public school settings (Latham, 1985; 1992). Furthermore, these negative interactions tend to be at least two times as frequent as positive interactions (Latham, 1985; 1992). Generally speaking, teachers are simply more attuned at attending to non-compliant, inappropriate, off-task behavior than they are to attend to appropriate, compliant, on-task behavior (Latham, 1985; 1992). In fact, 98 percent of all on task behavior generally goes unnoticed by the classroom teacher (Latham, 1985; 1992).

Research has continually demonstrated that the most effective way to reduce problem behavior in children is to strengthen desirable behavior through positive reinforcement rather than trying to weaken undesirable behavior using aversive or negative processes (Bijou, 1988). Furthermore, frequent teacher attention in the form of praise is more effective than rules or teacher reprimands in increasing appropriate behavior (Bijou and Ruiz, 1988). These studies, as well as others, speak to the need for teachers to apply positive consequences to student's behavior rather than aversive or negative consequences such as verbal reprimands as a way of weakening or eliminating undesirable behaviors. Education programs in youth correctional facilities have long used aversive or negative consequences as a means of getting students on-task and remaining there (Bijou, 1988).

Students who are accustomed to failure, expect failure. These students will have difficulty mastering tasks even if they persist at the task for an extended period. While all students respond better to positive than negative consequences, these students are much more likely to be positively affected by encouragement and praise and more likely to be negatively affected by criticism (Brophy and Evertson, 1976). Because we know that behavior is strengthened or weakened by its consequences, and that behavior ultimately responds better to positive than negative consequences, these principles were adopted by the Black Hills Special Services Cooperative (BHSSC) Alternative School educational staff. The BHSSC Alternative School is located in Sturgis, South Dakota.

Students placed in the BHSSC Alternative School are in need of long-term behavioral change. Diagnostically, these students have one or a combination of emotional disturbances and behavior disorders. In many cases, these students are

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classified a Serious Habitual Offenders (SHOs). These students demonstrate a range of symptomatic behaviors, including delinquency, drug and alcohol abuse, sexual acting out, and a variety of criminal activities. As many as 74 pecent of the students arrive at the school with a mean 3.8 year achievement delay, as measured by the Kaufmann Educational Test of Achievement (KETA) for both reading and mathematics.

The BHSSC Alternative Program uses a multidimensional approach to serve students. This approach includes educational programming, residential placement, vocational training, employment, and social/therapeutic assistance. We believe each to be an important element in serving the students and assuring their success beyond school. However, this document will focus only on the educational program provided to these students. Specifically, the remainder of this paper will address two topics: (1) how the BHSSC increased student time-on-task through positive teacher-to-student interactions, and (2) the results findings from the BHSSC Alternative School in regard to time-on-task and positive teacher-to-student interaction.

In 1985, the Nation At Risk report recommended increasing the school day in order to provide more instructional time. However, this report failed to recognize or address the fact that less than half of the school day is used effectively. In the average public school typically only 47 percent of the school day is dedicated to academic instruction (Latham, 1985). For students already at risk for academic failure this inefficient use of classroom time provides little opportunity for remediation or individual instruction.

In contrast, instructional time at BHSSC Alternative School occupies 72 percent of the school day. This is an impressive figure only if, within that time, students are actually on-task. In order to reap the greatest benefit from the allocated instructional time, the staff at BHSSC underwent a major staff development project involving awareness and training of skills that were proven to increase student time-on-task behavior. This staff development project focused on the work of Glenn Latham (1985; 1992). Latham's work in the area of time on task showed a direct correlation between student time-on-task and positive teacher to student interaction.

At the start of this project many appropriate behavioral techniques were already being utilized by the teachers at BHSSC Alternative School. Specifically, these techniques included beginning instruction immediately, management by physical proximity, and most importantly, providing instruction through proven instructional techniques such as mastery learning and cooperative learning. Although the use of these strategies are shown to be effective with all students (Passaro, Bantam, Mortimer, Zahn, and Guskey, 1994), insufficient positive interaction was observed between teachers and students. As previously stated the increase of positive interactions by teachers within the classroom was theorized to have a measurable impact upon student time on task behavior.

Strategies for Improving Teacher-to-Student Interactions

Latham (1992) describes seven negative traps that teachers often find themselves caught-up in. It is necessary for teachers to identify these traps and avoid them or at least escape from them when caught. The occurrence of these traps were well-documented at the BHSSC Alternative School. The first of these traps is the Criticism Trap. This trap refers to situations where students who are reproached for their

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inappropriate behaviors actually increase this behavior because it is only inappropriate behavior which receives attention. The Common Sense Trap occurs when a teacher attempts to reason with a student demonstrating inappropriate behavior. In this type of interaction the student typically learns nothing they don't already know and the teacher usually sees no change in the student's behavior. Instead of appealing to the student's "common sense," a teacher should provide incentives to change and reinforce that change through positive interactions. Another trap that teachers fall into is the Questioning Trap. This trap involves probing a student about why they behave inappropriately. The typical answer provided by a student during this questioning is "I don't know." This questioning not only serves to reinforce inappropriate behavior because it receives teacher attention, but also provides the student with a platform to provide to the teacher unnecessary and possibly inaccurate information. A good rule to follow in regard to the questioning trap is: "Do not ask students questions about their inappropriate behavior unless you need information for problem solving." Other traps teachers must work to avoid are the Sarcasm Trap, the Despair/Pleading Trap, the Threat Trap, and perhaps most importantly the Physical Force Trap. A sarcastic comment from a teacher is only a way of humiliating a student. This type of response provides a poor model for students. Making threats that cannot possibly be followed through, as well as pleading with students demonstrates that the teacher has basically lost control and has nowhere else to turn. Likewise, the use of physical force is totally inappropriate under any circumstances and a very poor model for students . . .

Not only is it important for teachers to identify and avoid these traps, they must also cultivate the skill of providing positive interactions with students. As with any skill practice in providing positive interactions is extremely important. Latham (1992) suggests at least four or five positive teacher-to-student interactions occur to each negative interaction. Unfortunately, negative interactions tend to be at least two times as frequent as are positive interactions (Latham, 1992). When working with students who tend evoke negative interactions from others, even more positive interactions are necessary (Latham, 1992). These positive interactions can be given in the form of verbal praise, a smile, a wink, or an acknowledgment of improved performance.

Teachers at BHSSC Alternative School received training through instructional video tapes on managing the classroom environment. These tapes were developed by Dr. Glenn Latham at Utah State University. These tapes were shown at staff meetings during the school year to view and discuss the training content. Furthermore, prior to these staff meetings, data were collected by the authors of this paper on the number of positive interactions between teachers-to-students and corresponding student time-on-task. This was done through monthly classroom observations, and this information was then shared with teachers at the staff meetings.

Results

Data collection during these observations utilized instruments developed by Latham (1989) which simultaneously measured student time on task and positive to negative teacher-to-student interaction. Data were collected at monthly intervals for a five-month period (observations 1-5 in Tables 1 and 2 below). A final data set (observation 6) was collected four months after observations to assess long-term retention

of the strategies by the school staff. Tables 1 and 2 below display the time on task and positive teacher-to-student interaction data over the six observation periods for the schools' four certified teachers.

TABLE 1: TIME OF TASK

Mean Percent of Students On Task

Observations	Teacher 1	Teacher 2	Teacher 3	Teacher 4	Over all
1	43	89	79	73	71
2	46	78	86	55	66
3	78	75	93	73	80
4		67		80	74
5		92			92
6		81	79	81	80
Teacher	56	80	84	72	77

Table 1 demonstrates that time on task increased from the average of 71 percent to 80 percent over the 6 observation intervals. Given that the average time on task behavior in general education settings has been determined to be approximately 70 percent (Latham, 1985) the initial observation in and of itself is significant. The consequent 9 percent long-term overall increase that occurred for student time on task can be explained by the data in Table 2 which is the percent increase in positive teacher to student interactions. Here positive teacher interactions with students increased by 14 percent over the 6 observations. The increase in positive interactions was directly related to a corresponding increase in student time on task.

TABLE 2: POSITIVE TO NEGATIVE STUDENT-TO-TEACHER INTERACTIONS

Mean Percent of Positive Interactions

Observations	Teacher 1	Teacher 2	Teacher 3	Teacher 4	Over all
1	60	100	25	0	46
2		92	88	71	84
3	63	0	50	75	47
4		33		80	57
5		42			42
6		80	42	59	60
Teacher	62	58	53	57	49

Figures 1 and 2 (on page 11) plot the growth of time on task behavior and positive interaction data, respectively. Figure 3 (on page 12) demonstrates the relationship between time-on-task and positive teacher-to-student interaction.

Figure 1

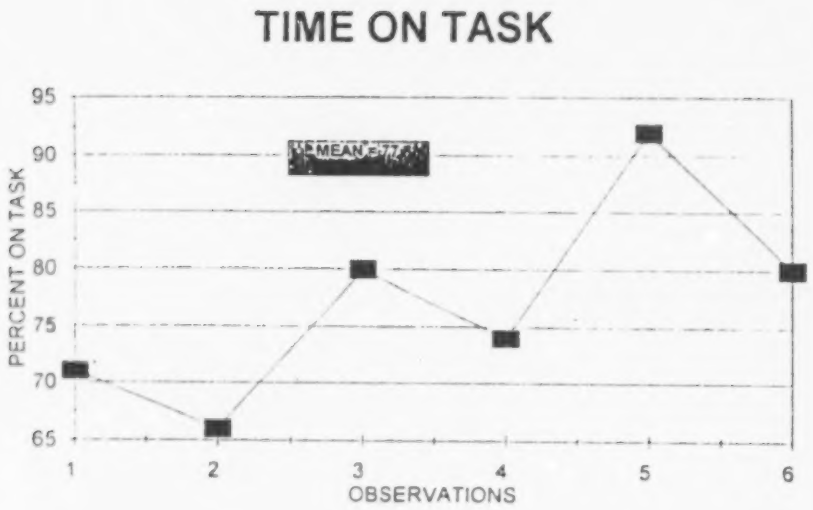

Figure 2

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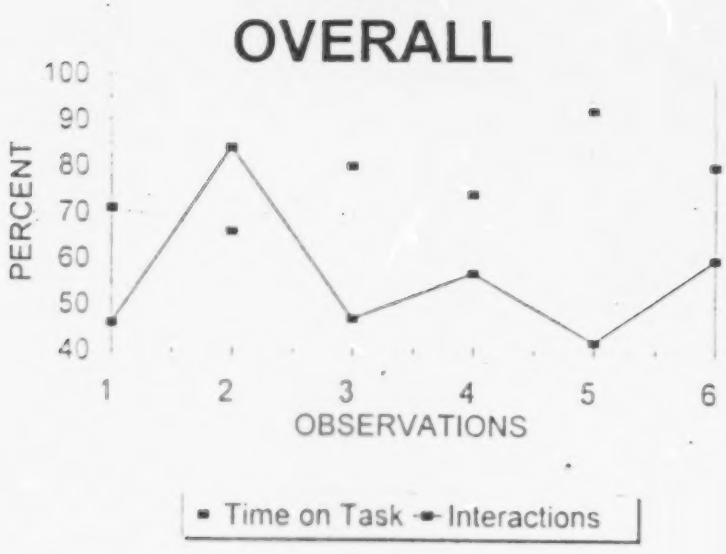
Figure 3



Conclusion

As demonstrated by the BHSSC Alternative School, time on task behavior of youth who are adjudicated can be increased significantly through positive teacher-to-student interaction. Increasing positive teacher interaction requires high quality training, long-term commitment, and support from administration and teachers. However, training and support are insufficient to maintain educational innovations. Results, in the form of improved student behavior and increased academic success, must occur.

Student academic success at the BHSSC Alternative school was measured by the administration of the Kaufmann Educational Test of Achievement (KETA) Battery. This instrument is a norm-referenced test deigned to assess core competencies and key skills from mathematics and reading. Students entering the BHSSC Alternative School were routinely pre-tested with the KETA. Student were then post-tested each year they were in the program to determine academic gains. During the past three school years, students' reading scores rose an average of 3.6 years, while math scores improved by 1.5 years. While these changes are not statistically significant, they are educationally relevant. They reflect the fact that teaching and learning are occurring within a population of students that had been categorized as unteachable (Passaro, et.al., 1994).

In conclusion, educators at the BHSSC Alternative school are able to observe improvements in student behavior and school success when they consistently apply positive reinforcement for appropriate behavior, ignore inconsequential behavior, and positively re-direct inappropriate behavior which cannot be ignored. This "positive" climate can be created by educators who consciously choose to place the burden of responsibility for their student's behavior upon themselves and accept the fact that their behavior as teachers significantly impacts the behavior of their students. Furthermore, teacher's behavior as role models to these "throwaway children" may be one of the few instances in their young lives where appropriate behaviors are modeled for them by adults. Without these opportunities, little hope can be expected for establishing new, better, more appropriate behaviors for students at-risk.

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EDUCATING FOR CHARACTER AND CROOK COUNTY

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Introduction

"To educate a person in mind and not in morals is to educate a menace to society" (Theodore Roosevelt, cited in Lickona, 1991). There has been a trend toward a return to the teaching of morals and ethics, often referred to today as character education. Public opinion polls have reported overwhelming approval for the teaching of standards of right and wrong in the public schools as part of children's education (Elam, Rose and Gallup, 1994).

Recent polls have shown over 90 percent parental support for schools teaching such values as honesty, democracy, acceptance of people of different races and ethnic backgrounds, patriotism, caring for family and friends, and moral courage (Elam, Rose and Gallup, 1993). It is believed that there is a link to better academic achievement, and that educating for character can promote the well-being of society in numerous ways (Pritchard, 1988).

A growing body of educators assert that it is wrong to teach a child academics without considering the ethical nature of development. As Berreth & Scherer (1993) states, education is character formation. To teach those values humanity shares, not those that divide, provides a return to beliefs on which the nation was founded. According to Ryan (1993), founders and early educational pioneers saw the clear need for a school system that would teach the civic virtues necessary to maintain our "novel political and social experiment" (p. 16).

Philosophers from ages past have viewed the challenge of education to be that of education to be that of intellectual and moral development. "From the beginning of civilization, from Greek antiquity through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and throughout the history of the United States the goal of education has been the formation of character" (Kalish and Heronymi, 1994). "Education has had two great goals: to help young people become smart and to help them become good" (Lickona, 1991).

Traditionally, American public schools were moral educators. They were designed to make the child fit for society by way of developing the character. First the Bible, and later the McGuffey Reader provided rich literature with lessons about honesty, love of neighbor, hard work, and other virtues. John Dewey, American philosopher and educator, explicitly endorsed the school as a developer of "the child's moral character" (in Kalish and Hieronymi, 1994).

Lickona (1993) portrays several powerful forces that changed the influence of schools as moral educators. Darwinism he argues, caused people to begin to see things in general as being in flux. Moral relativism of the 1960s asserted that morality is personal, subjective, and relative to the individual. Moral ideas were viewed as neither true nor false.

A movement toward values clarification followed. Teachers were not trusted to help students discern right from wrong, but were trained to help children clarify their feelings. Next the 1970s brought Kohlberg and stages of moral development (Power, Higgins and Kohlberg, 1989). His ideas developed moral process skills but did not promote moral content or expected behavior. Brooks and Kann (1992) propose that failure to expose students to a core of common values leaves children rudderless as individuals and isolated as members of a society that does, indeed, punish people for wrong behavior.

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Lickona (1993) points to at least three causes today for renewed interest in character education. The decline of the family is a major concern. Troubling trends in youth character including violence and teen pregnancy continue to shock the nation. Increased suicide rates have created grave concern. There has been a renaissance of the view that we do have a basic morality essential for survival.

Ryan of Boston University points out that public schools have bent over backwards in their efforts not to offend anyone about anything. To make themselves inoffensive and studiously neutral, he contends they have all but cleansed the curriculum of religious and ethical content. He speaks of schools as "morally dangerous places for children" (Elam, Rose and Gallup, 1994).

Hanson (1992) poses the concern in a succinct manner when he asks, "How is society to ensure survival by passing on a set of living moral values that are not politically, religiously, or racially based or biased?" Honig (1992) notes that between the equally unacceptable poles of 'religious dogmatism and institutionalized public amorality' (p. 53) there is room for a rational discussion of what ideals and standards we as a society hold to be worthy of praise and emulation. He proposes that many educators fail to discern this middle ground, which is one index of our current predicament. Yet authorities do admit uncertainty as to which educational strategies effectively cultivate character.

Numerous approaches for defining character involve lists of descriptors. The Josephson Institute of Ethics (Josephson, 1992) lists six pillars of character: trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, justice/fairness, caring, and civic virtue/citizenship in what is called, "The Aspen Declaration on Character Education." Top leaders of youth and education groups guided by the Josephson Institute met in the summer of 1992 to prepare the declaration. They believe that people do not automatically develop good moral character; therefore, conscientious efforts must be made to help young people develop their values and abilities. Others refer to similar traits as a 'common core' of values which society in general would agree as defining morality and ethics. Lickona (1991) concisely defines good character to consist of knowing the good, desiring the good, and doing the good, which are habits of the mind, habits of the heart, and habits of action.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine what pedagogical approaches were being used by administrators and teachers in Crook County, Wyoming to implement moral and ethical education. Survey research was conducted. These findings were compared to current research and examined for areas in which changes could be made. Moral and ethical values, and character education were defined for the purposes of the study. It was necessary to describe what teachers and administrators were doing to implement district exit outcome number four which states that students graduating from Crook County Schools should practice healthy life styles by developing moral and ethical values. Finally, teachers and administrators were asked to rate the effectiveness of efforts to teach moral and ethical values, or character education, on a personal level and for the school as a whole.

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Findings

Teachers and administrators of Crook County generally agree with national polls (Elam, Rose and Gallup, 1993; 1994) indicating overall approval of the teaching of basic moral and ethical values to students within the public school system. While The term 'character education' received the greatest number of votes for the appropriate name to call such efforts, not all were comfortable using a name at all.

Sixty-nine percent of the respondents agreed with the exit outcome regarding teaching of moral and ethical values to promote a healthy lifestyle. Educators of Crook County in that regard accept the challenge to assist parents in fostering character development of today's youth.

Components of the most accepted definition of moral and ethical values included respect for self and others, and responsibility for one's own actions, along with honesty, responsibility, respect for others, and community service. This definition closely follows the definition of Townsend (1992).

Top rated traits to be emphasized according to survey responses included responsibility, honesty, respect, work ethic, self-worth, and compassion. These followed closely to those mentioned in the Gallup poll of 1994 (Elam, Rose and Gallup, 1994).

Using approaches listed in (Lickona, 1991) to foster moral/ethical values within the classroom, Crook County educators, showed greatest comfort with "teacher as model, care giver and mentor," followed by use of "moral and ethical discipline." Educators in Crook County appeared to be most uncomfortable with "structured lessons on values" and teaching "controversial issues" as part of moral and ethical training. Most educators used integrated approaches for foster character education.

On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 as very effective, Crook County educators rated their own efforts at teaching moral and ethical values as moderately to very effective, with 58 percent at the three level and 32 percent at the four level for a combined 90 percent. Concerning the schools effectiveness, 74 percent were in the same three to four level with the implied perception being that individuals are more effective than their co-workers in general.

Conclusion

Educators of Crook County do believe that a commonly held set of core community values should be emphasized, again following national trends reported in (Elam, Rose and Gallup, 1993). Areas that respondents felt should not be addressed basically reinforce the belief that religious ideologies and doctrine should not be included in the moral and ethical efforts of the school. Concern over controversial issues were mentioned in the survey.

Educators need to continue to define what is meant by the teaching of moral and ethical standards. They must accept the position of being role-models, and ethical standards. Ethos, or ethical environment established within the school and classroom is critical. Format for measurement of outcomes involving moral and ethical values is needed. Further research into effective pedagogies for fostering moral and ethical values needs to continue. Longitudinal studies measuring effectiveness of character education programs would validate usefulness and direct future curriculum decisions. Nurturing

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citizenship necessary for the success of democracy is a school function partially attainable through service learning. As parents and community become partners with schools in character training, effectiveness will increase. Working together to establish core community values creates a common vision and hope for the future.

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